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CLERGYMEN MATHEMATICIANS.

CARDINAL NEWMAN says somewhere, though I have not been able to find the exact passage, that the study of mathematics has a tendency to make men skeptics with regard to matters of faith. It is as if the acceptance of mysteries that the human intellect is unable to understand and indeed cannot hope ever to comprehend must be utterly unsympathetic to the mind accustomed to obtain its knowledge by means of the rigid conclusions of mathematical science. Of course, neither the thought nor the expression originated with the great English Cardinal. Something like it has been said frequently by many others before him and has come to be accepted by many people as almost an axiom. People who themselves are not mathematicians (and I believe that Newman at all times here in his life had very little sympathy with mathematics, though a liking for mathematics and for music are said to go together, and the great Cardinal's fondness for music is known) are prone to consider that a mathematical mind must be very different from their own, and especially must be impatient of the inconclusiveness of our knowledge with regard to the Infinite.

It is curious to see how old this impression with regard to the skeptical quality of the scientific and mathematical mind is, and even Plato has, I believe, a passage in which he calls attention to it. Not long since, in looking over the confessions of Al Ghazzali, which were translated for the first time into English by Claude Field for the "Wisdom of the East Series,"¹ I found that this old Moslem

¹ New York, Dutton, 1909.

scholar, who compiled the apologetics of Mohammedanism against the unbelievers of his time in the East, had expressed even more forcibly than the great English Christian apologist of the nineteenth century this idea of the almost inevitable opposition that exists in the mathematical mind to the acceptance of the mysteries of religion or of the great principles of the revelation on faith. The Moslem scholar not only saw, as he thought, the skeptical influence of mathematics, but he recognized also the weight the opinions of mathematicians have in leading others to skeptical views. His passage on the subject is all the more interesting because the picture that he presents is a reflection of our own times in many ways. He said:

"Whoever studies this science (mathematics) admires the subtlety and clearness of its proofs. His confidence in philosophy increases, and he thinks that all its departments are capable of the same clearness and solidity of proof as mathematics. But when he hears people speak of the unbelief and impiety of mathematicians, of their professed disregard for the Divine Law, which is notorious, it is true that, out of regard for authority, he echoes these accusations, but he says to himself at the same time that if there was truth in religion, it would not have escaped those who have displayed so much keenness of intellect in the study of mathematics.

"Next, when he becomes aware of the unbelief and rejection of religion on the part of these learned men, he concludes that to reject religion is reasonable. How many men have gone astray that I have met whose sole argument was that just mentioned."

The impression that the scientific mind, even in its exactest mode—that of the mathematician—is necessarily or even almost surely opposed to faith is, therefore, a very general impression felt in distant times and places. It has always seemed to me, however, just one of the many things that we think we know, but that, in Artemus Ward's expressive phrase, "ain't so." Many another expression like it exists quite unquestioned, though without foundation when analyzed. There are many people, for instance, even well educated people, and, above all, scientific scholars, who insist that science and faith are opposite poles of intellectuality, and the man who accepts many things on faith cannot hope either to know or do much in science, while the man of science cannot be expected to be a firm believer in principles that require the submission of the intellect without the possibility of understanding. This impression has absolutely no justification in what we know about the attitude of great scientists to faith. Even the makers of modern medicine, though medicine is ordinarily considered to be the most unorthodox of sciences, and the maxim runs "that where there are three physicians there are two atheists," were nearly all of them devout Cath-

olics and almost without exception they were firm believers in the essential truths of religion. The makers of electricity, the most recent of our sciences, show exactly the same thing. Astronomers, physicists, chemists, even biologists, when the lives of the greatest discoverers in these various departments are carefully looked up, prove practically all to have been faithful believers.

Since the impression of supposed opposition between scientists of the less exact departments of scientific knowledge and faith is wrong, it is easy to think that the same thing may have happened with regard to the mathematicians, and that we may be only in the presence of one of these curious presumptions so frequent in human thinking, yet so hard to understand the origin of, since they are without basis in truth. This suggestion of the erroneous character of the opinion derogatory to mathematicians with regard to faith was very strongly borne in on me while writing the sketches of the two most distinguished mathematicians, at least as far as applied mathematics are concerned, of the nineteenth century. They were Clerk Maxwell, to whom we owe the mathematics of modern electricity, and Leverrier, the distinguished French astronomer, to whom we owe the discovery of Neptune by pencil and paper. If these two greatest of our nineteenth century mathematicians, far from being unbelievers, were, on the contrary, even devout in religious belief and practice and continued so in the midst of their great mathematical work, then surely at least there are some very striking exceptions to Cardinal Newman's rule.

The lives of both of these great nineteenth century scientists are worth while calling attention to a little more in detail because they are such an emphatic contradiction of the supposition that mathematicians may not be and indeed cannot be deep believers. There are any number of expressions in Clerk Maxwell that show the opposite to be true. Toward the end of his life he said to a friend: "I have looked into most philosophical systems, and I have seen that none of them will work without a God." When he was studying the composition of matter and wrote with regard to the atom, he practically restored the argument from design to its old place for scientists by insisting on the evidences for design in these smallest portions of matter. With regard to the molecule, he said in his article on that subject:² "They continue this day as they were created, perfect in number and measure and weight, and from the ineffaceable characters impressed on them we may learn that those aspirations after accuracy in measurement, truth in statement and justice in action, which we reckon among our noblest attributes as men, are ours because they are essential constituents of the image of

² "Nature," 1873.

Him who in the beginning created not only heaven and earth, but the materials in which heaven and earth consist."

It is not so surprising, then, to read that "he was a constant and regular attendant at church," and, as his pastor said of him, "seldom if ever failed to join in our monthly late celebration of Holy Communion, and he was a generous contributor to all our parish charitable institutions. His illness drew out the whole heart and soul and spirit of the man. His firm and undoubting faith and the incarnation in all his results in the full sufficing of the atonement, in the work of the Holy Spirit. He had gauged and fathomed all his themes and put them to philosophy and had found them utterly unsatisfying—unworkable was his own word for them—and he turned with simple faith to the Gospel of the Saviour." Though he had been until his last illness the most looked up to man among the physical scientists of England and, indeed, of Europe, and had been recognized as one of the greatest mathematicians of the nineteenth century, as his death approached the little verse of Richard Baxter often was on his lips:³

Lord, it belongs not to my care
Whether I die or live;
To love and serve Thee is my share,
And that Thy grace must give.

Clerk Maxwell was an Anglican. Leverrier was a Catholic. Such devotion of faith and piety of expression are not uncommon among great Catholic scientists, and so, perhaps, it is not surprising in Leverrier, although, considering the supposed opposition between mathematics and faith, it is very noteworthy. Besides his discovery of Neptune with pencil and paper so that he was able to indicate to the Astronomer Royal just where he should look for an as yet undiscovered planet, Leverrier worked out the mathematics of Mercury, the nearest of the planets, and did much for our knowledge of the comets that lie nearest the sun as well as for many other details of mathematical astronomy. Far from having his faith disturbed by his mathematics, he was noted for his devout adhesion to the Catholic Church, and kept a crucifix in his observatory, to which he often turned in prayer. In the proceedings of the Academy of Science at the time of his death it was declared that the study of the heavens and his scientific faith had only brought about a confirmation in this great scientist of his lively faith as a Christian. When he came to write the last word of the last page of his great work on astronomy he murmured piously: "Nunc dimittis servum tuum Domine"—"Now you dismiss your servant in peace, Lord."

It has seemed to me that the question of the influence of mathe-

³ "Makers of Electricity," Fordham University Press, New York, 1909.

matics on faith might be solved and the imputation on mathematics removed by a consideration of the lives of the clergymen who in the last ten centuries have done work in mathematics, yet have proved not only faithful to their duties as clergymen and devout in their practice of religion, but who have most of them insisted that their faith was even deepened by their mathematical knowledge, and that far from being disturbed it was rendered firmer by their devotion to mathematics.

Most people might think that such a defense of mathematics would be quite inconclusive, because there are not many clergymen who have devoted themselves to mathematics with sufficient success to deserve a place among the great mathematicians. Nothing could be less true than any such impression. In this sort of question it is not well to trust to general impressions, but actual details must be secured. Very few people would be likely to think, were the question suddenly put to them, that a large number of clergymen had made important contributions to electricity, yet, as I showed in my article on "*Clerical Pioneers in Electricity*,"⁴ there are a great many Catholic ecclesiastics who deserve to be remembered for their original work in electricity. A little investigation proves that just this same thing is true of mathematics, and that there are many clerical mathematicians who have done ground-breaking work of the greatest value in many periods of history.

The introduction of mathematics to the Christian world came, of course, by the transfer of whatever knowledge of mathematics was still cherished among the Romans to the Christians of the Middle Ages. The names of two men are particularly associated with this department of knowledge as they are with nearly every other in its transition period. They are Boethius and Cassiodorus. Boethius (480-525) wrote the "*De Institutione Arithmetica Libri II.*" and translated "*Euclid.*" The "*Geometria Euclidis: A Boethio in Latinum Translata*" is preserved for us in manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and there seems to be no doubt about its authenticity. There is also attributed to him a work, "*De Geometria*," the basis of which is undoubtedly his, though in the form in which we have it, it is perhaps an elaboration made in the tenth century. The question as to how much of it must be attributed to Boethius himself and how much to later compilers is still open. On the determination of it depends the settlement of the question as to when Arabic numerals were first used in Western Europe. Boethius' works were widely studied; he was, indeed, the most read author of the early Middle Ages and until the time of the universi-

⁴ "*Catholic Churchmen in Science*," Second Series, The Dolphin Press, Philadelphia, 1909.

ties, so that his mathematics must have been well known in the monastery. Recent investigations seem to have settled beyond all doubt that Boethius did actually die as a Christian martyr at Bavia in 524 or 525. The constant tradition in this matter, which can be traced back to the eighth century, and which was confirmed in 1883 by the Sacred Congregation of Rites when it sanctioned the custom prevailing in the Diocese of Bavia of honoring St. Severinus Boethius on the 23d of October, deserves to be given full weight. There seems, therefore, to have been no reason to think at all that devotion to mathematics disturbed the faith of this earliest of the Christian mathematicians of whom we have no record.

Cassiodorus (490-583) did not do so much directly for mathematics as he did by calling attention to the significance of the theory of numbers and their symbolism. Like all of these mediæval writers attracted to mathematics, and, above all, like Boethius, his great contemporary, Cassiodorus was interested in music as well as in mathematics, for the two departments of human knowledge are often said to go together. To Cassiodorus we probably owe a method for computing Easter, besides a series of references to the significance of numbers expressed in his commentaries on the Scriptures. These became the inspiration of many monastic students later on. Cassiodorus, as is well known, after having been the Prime Minister of the Emperor Theodoric, retired to a Benedictine monastery and lived there for some sixty years until the age of ninety-three.

The first important contributor to mathematics in modern history came in what is usually termed the darkest of the Dark Ages—the tenth century. Probably no century has fared better at the hands of recent historians than this same tenth century. It has come up wonderfully in our estimation as the result of our learning something definite about it. We now know that it is only a question of lost records and that there was beyond all doubt a very vivid intellectual life during this period.

For those who are accustomed to think of the Church as restraining men's facilities of investigation, and, above all, for those who accept the conclusion that mathematics and faith do not go well together, it will be astonishing, doubtless, to learn, however, that this first of mathematicians became Pope and is looked upon as one of the greatest ecclesiastics of history. We refer, of course, to the famous Gerbert, who became Pope just at the dawn of the second millennium of Christianity (April, 999) and took the name of Sylvester II. Before his elevation to the Papacy he had been successively Archbishop of Rheims and of Ravenna. He had been a professor at Rheims for many years and had attracted students from all over the world because of his practical methods of teaching the

sciences, especially astronomy and mathematics. As an aid to his lectures in astronomy he invented elaborate globes, on which the course of the planets was marked. He also constructed an immense abacus, an instrument to aid in computation, with 27 divisions and 1,000 counters, of horn. The abacus had been originally devised by the Arabians, but was very much improved by Gerbert and applied to geometrical as well as to arithmetical problems. Perhaps the most interesting thing that we know about these inventions of his is that he had a number of them made and traded them for manuscripts, especially of the classical authors, so that before his death he had collected a magnificent library and had probably done more than any other single man for three centuries to preserve the old authors for us.

Gerbert's mathematical works are contained in some of the most precious of the old manuscripts of the Vatican dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Among them is "*Regula De Abaco Computi*" and "*Libellus de Numerorum Divisione*." Of this latter there are eleventh and twelfth century manuscript copies at Paris, Montpellier and Rome, showing the wide diffusion of his work, and, indeed, it may be said that his books were text-books of mathematical teaching for several centuries after his death. There is also a treatise on geometry attributed to him, and while the authenticity of this has been doubted by some authorities, there are good reasons for thinking that it represents Gerbert's successful devotion to this form of mathematical science. He has a short disquisition on the same subject addressed to a friend, to whom he was accustomed to write letters, some of which have been preserved for us, which adds evidence to the authenticity of the treatise on geometry.

As might be expected, when the new impetus to learning of all kinds came with the foundation of the universities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, mathematics also had a wonderful period of development. In the second edition of my volume on "*The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries*," I suggest in the appendix that it would have been very easy to have written a chapter on the mathematics and mathematicians of the thirteenth century, for Cantor, the great German historian of mathematics, devotes nearly 100 pages to the mathematicians of this period. He goes so far as to say that the mathematicians of this century worked a revolution in mathematics. They accomplished so much that their contemporaries and successors could scarcely follow them, much less go beyond them. There are two supreme mathematicians in the period—Leonardo of Pisa and Jordanus Nemorarius. Jordanus was a Dominican, and his work in arithmetic, in the theory of numbers, in algebra and geometry stamps him as a great original thinker in

mathematics. His work brought about a wide spread of arithmetical knowledge among the masses. This is what might be expected in the thirteenth century, for it was characteristic of the time that the new thoughts and discoveries of scholars were soon made practical and penetrated very widely among the people.

How much mathematics was appreciated at the end of the thirteenth century may be learned from the words of the great Franciscan, Roger Bacon, who was himself a distinguished contributor to mathematics and especially worthy of mention because he did so much to show the practical value that mathematics should have as applied to the physical sciences. The great English Franciscan went so far as to say: "For without mathematics nothing worth knowing in philosophy can be attained," and in another place in his works, as quoted by Brewer in the preface to his recent edition of all of Bacon's writings: "For he who knows not mathematics cannot know any other science; what is more, he cannot discover his own ignorance or find its proper remedy." After the thirteenth century the roll of clergymen mathematicians is continuous. No century since is without at least one great genius mathematician noted for his original work in his favorite study who yet remained a faithful son of the Church. In many cases these mathematical geniuses reached high preferment in the Church, and it is evident that their mathematical turn of mind, far from hampering their ecclesiastical preferment or rendering them suspect of heretical tendencies, or making them lukewarm in their devotion to religion, was rather an added reason for the distinction they reached in their careers.

The other great mathematician after Leonardo and Jordanus was Joannes Campanus, of Novarra, in Italy. He was highly praised by Roger Bacon, whose knowledge and appreciation of mathematics we have already shown. Campanus translated Euclid and developed geometry for his generation, giving the higher mathematics a great impetus. Cantor has shown that he did some original work besides his teaching of the old Greek mathematicians, and undoubtedly attracted renewed attention to the higher mathematics. In the midst of his mathematical labors he became chaplain of Pope Urban IV. (1261-64), and after the death of that Pope he was called to Paris to become canon to the Cathedral and professor of higher mathematics of the university. His advance as an ecclesiastic not only was not interfered with by his reputation as a mathematician, but this seems to have enhanced his chances of preferment. He was the special friend of most of the high ecclesiastics of the time, and it was his desire to teach mathematics at a great school that, with his reputation, brought him the invitation to Paris. In a word, his life

shows very clearly that the men of his time appreciated intellectual genius, no matter what direction of accomplishment it took. They are said to have been occupied exclusively with scholasticism, but that is only because their critics know no other than that side of them.

Cantor speaks highly in praise of Joannes de Sacrabusco, or Sacrabusto, who is usually considered to owe the second part of his name to his having been born at Holy Wood, near Dublin. There are other claimants for his birthplace, however, as, indeed, with regard to most of the distinguished Irishmen of these early times. He is said by some to have been born at Halifax, in Yorkshire, by others at Nithsdale, in Scotland. We do not know the year of his birth, but he died in 1256 while teaching mathematics in Paris. His "*Tractatus de Arte Numerandi*" was for centuries the most used text-book of mathematics in Europe. It is extremely austere, containing only a series of rules, and nothing more. There are no explanations and no examples are given. It contained all the rules for addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, the proportions and the progressions. It succeeded in crowding into small space most even of our higher arithmetic, and there is no doubt that this Irish mathematician of the olden time deserves a place as one of the great mathematical teachers of the world. He had certain very clear-cut methods of expressing rules that made his work valuable as a text-book and gave it the vogue that it obtained.

The supreme mathematician of the fourteenth century, in whose praise Cantor is enthusiastic, though his name does not find a place in the ordinary encyclopedias, thus indicating not the smallness of the man, but the lack of interest in the science of these times, to which I have before called attention, is Oresme, or Oresmes. We do not know the place of his birth nor its date, but he entered the College of Navarre, in Paris, in 1348, and remained there as a student, professor and finally director of the college until 1361. Then he became deacon of the Cathedral of Rouen. His personal character must have been interesting, for we have it recorded of him that in 1363, in Avignon itself, he preached a great sermon on Christmas night, in which he called attention to the abuses of the Papal Court at that time resident in that French town. The occasion to contrast the poverty of Christ with the ambitious schemes and the luxury of too many who were then most influential with the rulers of the Church of Christ was well taken and seems not to have seriously hurt Oresme's career. In 1377 he was made Bishop of Lisieux, and died there in 1382.

All his life he seems to have felt in himself a mission to correct abuses or at least to call attention to them strenuously and point out how they might be corrected. During the fourteenth century many

abuses arose with regard to the mendicant orders, and these Oresme pointed out without fear or favor and undoubtedly did much to prevent them from becoming a serious detriment to Church progress. Even more strenuous was his arraignment of astrology. While so many around him continued to believe in the influence of the stars on man, while so many educated people continued to have faith in the readings of the stars, Oresme pointed to the utter futility of it and indicated that its only reason for being was the money that its adepts made out of it. Unfortunately he was far ahead of his time. For three centuries after him men still continued to believe in astrology. Kepler and Galileo both made horoscopes for patrons, and Galileo made one for the Duke of Tuscany foreshadowing many years of happy life within a fortnight of his death. Oresme also pointed out the absurdity of signs of all kinds with regard to the future and the consideration of heavenly bodies as portents of evil at any time. He had a thoroughly skeptical quality of intellect (such as might be expected to come from the cultivation of the exact science of mathematics), but this stopped short of faith in revelation and the mysteries of religion.

In the fifteenth century there were a number of great clergymen mathematicians. The earliest of them was Nicholas of Cusa, afterwards the famous Cardinal. After graduating in law he took up the legal profession, but having lost his first case he gave up the practice of law and resolved to enter the Church. We are not sure where he studied theology, but after his ordination he became Arch-deacon of Liege. He was in attendance at the Council of Basel and attracted the attention of the assembled fathers. After this he was entrusted with various missions, the most important being one to Constantinople with the purpose of bringing about the reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches. For these labors for the Holy See he was raised to the Cardinalate and subsequently made Bishop of Brixen. To him was entrusted the correction of many abuses in general, and as all the readers of Janssen's history of the German people know from the account of him in the introduction, he must be considered a representative German prelate of this time. It is all the more surprising for those who think that the Church was in any way opposed to science at this time to learn that during the ten years preceding his elevation to the Cardinalate Cusanus had published a series of books with regard to mathematics and methods of scientific study, in which he insists that the experimental method is the only one that will give any real knowledge of science and in which he proclaims his belief that the earth is round, that it moves as a star among the other stars and other ideas supposed to be much more recent.

One of the most important of his contributions to mathematical science was a tract on the reformation of the calendar. This was presented to the Council of Basel. The methods suggested by him very closely resembled that afterwards elaborated by Father Clavius, S. J., and adopted by Pope Gregory XIII. Like every other great mathematician down almost to our day, Nicholas became interested in the problem of squaring the circle. His book "*De Quadratura Circuli*" was published with the idea that he had solved the problem. Even more interesting is a suggestion of the great Cardinal with regard to the counting of the pulse and respiration rate. It was not until the next century that watches became at all common. A few of them were made in the fifteenth century, but they were very expensive and were rather cumbersome, not flat as now, but nearly round, hence called Nuremberg eggs. Physicians then judged of the rapidity of pulse and respiration rate by their subjective estimation of rapidity. Just as with regard to the taking of the temperature before thermometers became common, many of the physicians became very expert in this, but the method left much to be desired as regards accuracy, especially for comparative purposes.

Cardinal Nicholas suggested then that the pulse and the respiration should be counted up to 100, the amount of water that flowed through a water clock during the length of time required for this being measured and compared with the amount of water that had flowed for the same number of pulse beats or of respirations in a person known to be normally healthy of the same age and weight and race and general constitution of the patient. This was the first suggestion for accuracy of diagnosis in medicine and the first hint for the introduction of mathematical methods. That it should have come from a Cardinal of the fifteenth century shows how curiously mistaken have been our notions with regard to the attitude of churchmen towards science at this time. In the *Archives of Diagnosis*, a quarterly journal devoted to diagnostics exclusively (April, 1909) I called attention to this early suggestion which antedates by nearly two centuries Harvey's suggestion with regard to the counting of the pulse, though this latter is often said to be the first teaching leading to accuracy of information with regard to the pulse rate.

Cardinal Cusanus' place in the history of mathematics can be best appreciated from the attention given him by Cantor. The German historian of mathematics devotes a whole chapter of nearly twenty pages to this German ecclesiastic, for whom mathematics was only a hobby. His little treatise, "*De Mathematica Perfecta*," dedicated to Cardinal Antonius, one of his intimate friends, is said in the dedication to have been written in the course of two days while he was confined to the house by a sore foot. To practically everything that

he touched Cardinal Cusanus brought illumination. He was never satisfied to think as others did merely because others thought so unless he had good reasons therefor. That a man of this kind should have been the specially selected Legate of the Pope for the correction of ecclesiastical abuses in Germany in the second half of the fifteenth century shows how seriously the question of the eradication of evils was taken long before the reformation so-called.

Cardinal Nicholas, of Cusa, was the first to study the cycloid, that is, the curve generated by a point in the circumference, or on the radius of a circle when the circle is rolled along a straight line and kept always in the same plane. This is familiarly represented by the imaginary line described by a point on the circumference of a wheel as the wheel moves on. The study of it originally was suggested, it is said, to Cardinal Nicholas in the course of one of his journeys by carriage during his travel when his active mind required some occupation and this occurred to him. The curve was next studied by Charles de Bouvelles, who rejoices in many variants of this name, but who was born in Picardy in 1470 and died in 1532. He was the canon of Noyon in Picardy and was almost as distinguished as an ecclesiastic as he was as a mathematician. One of his immediate contemporaries was Father Ciruelo, who was canon of the Cathedral of Salamanca. He taught at Alcalá and at Salamanca and was for many years a professor of theology, though all the time distinguished for his successful studies in mathematics. At the University of Alcalá while teaching theology he gave a course on the four liberal arts of mathematics.

The greatest mathematician of the fifteenth century occupies a prominent place in my second volume of "Catholic Churchmen in Science" (the Dolphin Press, Philadelphia, 1909) for the work that he did in astronomy. It is Regiomontanus, who is sometimes spoken of as the father of modern astronomy and whose calendars were of so much assistance to Columbus and the Portuguese and Spanish navigators of the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. Here I need only add that Regiomontanus has a distinguished place in the history of mathematics for his introduction of the tangent as an element in analytical geometry. Cantor, in his "History of Mathematics," already quoted, ranks him as one of the great contributors to mathematical science. For us here it is of interest to know that because of his knowledge of mathematics he was invited down to Rome to correct the calendar following the suggestion of his great contemporary, Cardinal Nicholas, of Cusa, and though he died at the early age of forty, his end did not come before the Pope had expressed his recognition of his scholarship by making him Bishop of Ratisbon.

Cantor, in his "History of Mathematics" already referred to, devotes a long chapter of his second volume, some 40 octavo pages altogether, to Regiomontanus' work. The conclusion of it is as follows: "We have in Regiomontanus sketched the work of a mathematician of the first rank, the equal in genius of Leonardo of Pisa, of Jordanus Nemorarius or of Oresme, to mention only the three names which have the highest rank in this volume. First of all the Western workers in mathematics, Regiomontanus gave a perfection to applied trigonometry which was destined to have no further improvement until well on in the eighteenth century (that is, this man of thirty-five dominated higher mathematics for three centuries in Europe), and admitted of no different system of treatment to that which he had introduced. While he was at once an acute geometrician, a skilled algebraist, a very genius for the theory of numbers, he showed in all these departments that he stood at the very summit of his time, and had it been permitted to him to contribute more than brief monographs to the subject, had he found, as he hoped, the leisure to occupy himself with still further depths of mathematics, it cannot be determined how important might have been the discoveries that he would have made, yet with all this we must not forget that only a small part of his time was devoted to mathematics, much of it being given to astronomy and to classical studies, in which he was eminently successful."

Regiomontanus was the great mathematical teacher of Europe for the next two centuries, and one of the living proofs of how much the Renaissance was interested in science as well as in art and literature. We are only too prone to think that science was neglected at this time or occupied very little attention, but this false impression is entirely due to the fact that while so much attention has been given to the history of art and of literature, very little has been paid to the history of science in this period. Regiomontanus had the Renaissance idea of not specializing too narrowly, and he is one of the great Greek scholars of his time as well as its greatest mathematician. He lectured for a time at Vienna, and some of these lectures written out have been preserved. From them Cantor concludes that he must have known very well (*genau*) Euclid Archimedes, Apollonius, Hysicles, Menelaus, Theodosius, Eutokius. This list shows that those interested in science during the Renaissance were as careful in searching out old scientific texts as were the rival scholars who were occupied with pure classic literature.

Another great mathematician of the fifteenth century was Regiomontanus' teacher, George of Peurbach, who was even less fortunate in the length of life allotted him than his great pupil, for he was carried off in the midst of wonderful success as a teacher of mathe-

matics at the early age of thirty-eight. As in the case of Copernicus, at the end of the century we are not sure about Peurbach's relation to the Church, though at this time all of the great teachers at the universities belonged to the clerical order, to the extent at least of having taken minor orders. The interest of the time in mathematics and astronomy can be judged from the welcome extended to Peurbach in so many places. He delivered astronomical lectures at Ferrara, at Bologna, at Padua, all of them founded on mathematics, and then became the professor of astronomy at the University of Vienna. He calculated new tables of the planets and made a new list of the fixed stars. His great contribution to mathematics was the compilation of a table of sines, taking 60-10 for unity or the length of the radius, and thus prepared the way for decimal fractions. This table was not quite completed when he died, and Regiomontanus, who had been his favorite pupil and who owed to him the inspiration of his mathematical genius, completed it.

During the last few months, while Halley's comet has been swinging into vision again, the newspapers, the magazines and occasionally even certain scientific periodicals have talked about the bull against that comet supposed to have been issued by Pope Calixtus III. in 1456. Of course, there is no such bull, and its non-existence has been pointed out over and over again, but that makes no difference. How much more interesting it would be if all these sources of information or presumed information for the masses would point out the really fine work in mathematics and astronomy that was accomplished at this time in Italy in the ecclesiastically ruled universities and by men who were closely in touch with the Popes and received high preferment from them. The names that we have just mentioned would furnish an excellent list. They are, however, only the great leaders, and there were very many students and disciples whose names are known, though their fame has not attained the height of their masters. There probably never was a more distinguished group of men in these two sciences than came just about this time. Regiomontanus, who introduced the use of the tangent and the regular publication of astronomical data; Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, who did so much for arithmetic and other forms of applied mathematics and whose astronomical ideas were so clear; St. Antoninus, the great Archbishop of Florence, a special friend of the Popes of this period, whose theory of comets anticipated astronomical ideas for several centuries, are but types.

The careers of these men show very clearly what was the attitude of the Church towards science at this time. One must know something about the history of science, however, in order to appreciate this properly. It is much easier to take what is supposed to be a

characteristic incident the publication of a bull against the comet as representing the attitude of the Church and then to assume that this sums up the whole situation. This is the way that the history of Church and science has been written in the past. Needless to say, it has been accepted only because even men who are supposed to be scholars have been ignorant of realities. The development of science is supposed to have been delayed until quite modern times. As a matter of fact, in the Renaissance period there was as great a reawakening or rebirth of interest in science as there was in art and literature. This rebirth came about in the same way. Great scholars studied the mathematics of the Greeks and then went on and developed the ideas of their masters, making significant progress. This progress is more to be noted in mathematics than in anything else, because mathematics is the fundamental subject in science. Any real advance in genuine science is based upon mathematics. That fact alone would show the serious character of the devotion to science in the Renaissance period. That that devotion should have been most notable among the ecclesiastics of the time is only what might be expected, for they were the scholars and the men of leisure. It is rather amusing, however, to have men who ought to know better talk about the mythical bull against Halley's comet as typical of the time and of the churchmen of the period when it is so easy to reconstruct the picture of the scientific life of the Renaissance and to see at once how absurd is the story of any such Papal bull just as soon as it is appreciated what sort of men the Popes took on themselves to honor by Church preferment at this time.

The impetus given by Regiomontanus to mathematics in Nuremberg continued to be felt there for nearly a century after his death. Nuremberg was the centre of humanistic influence in Germany, and art and literature was cultivated assiduously. The famous Pirkheimer family were patrons of art and letters and Albrecht Dürer's influence made itself felt. Probably the best evidence that we have that the Renaissance was not confined to art and letters, but led to the cultivation also of the sciences, is to be found in the interest devoted to mathematics and astronomy in Nuremberg. This dual set of interests has been well chronicled side by side by Johann Gabriel Doppelmeier in his "Historic Review of the Nuremberg Mathematicians and Artists."⁵ Bilibald Pirkheimer was especially interested in mathematics and gathered round him all those with similar tastes. In his house were to be found what was a fine collection of mathematical books for that time. He had Euclid and Archimedes in Greek and many of the books collected by Regiomontanus and by Walther.

⁵ "Historische Nachricht von den Nurnbergischen Mathematicis und Kunztlern Nürnberg, 1730."

Probably the most distinguished mathematician of Nuremberg after Regiomontanus was Johann Werner, born in 1468, a few years after the death of Regiomontanus. After receiving his preliminary education in Nuremberg and studying theology there he was ordained priest, and then spent the five years between 1493 and 1498 in Rome while Pope Alexander VI. reigned. After his return to Nuremberg he became pastor of St. John's Church and continued there until his death in 1528. He became famous in his time for his work in mathematics and geometry, and continued the tradition of distinction in these subjects which had attracted the world's attention to Nuremberg in Regiomontanus' time. Many of his calculations and maps are said to have been of great assistance to the Spanish and Portuguese navigators of this time. This is all the more surprising, for Nuremberg was well up in the centre of Europe, its inhabitants caught none of the romance of the sea at all, yet the mathematical basis for great discoveries at sea was laid more in this south German town than in any other part of Europe.

One of the greatest successors of Regiomontanus was Luca Paciolo, whose famous book, "*Summa de Arithmetica Geometria Poportione et Proportionalita*," ran through many editions and was considered one of the standard works on mathematics for several centuries. He is better known, perhaps, by the name which he assumed when he became a member of the Franciscans—Fra Luca Di Borgo Sancti Sepulchri. He wandered in many cities of Italy, teaching everywhere and having the advantage of intercourse with the brightest minds of this wonderful Renaissance time. He taught at Perugia for a while in the Franciscan country and then later at Rome, at Naples, at Venice, at Milan, at Florence and in Bologna. In his autobiography he said very naively: "Since we, though unworthy, have donned the garb of the seraphic St. Francis it has happened to us to wander through many lands." His expression tells us at once his veneration for the saintly founder of his order, while it also makes clear his own obedience, for it was because he was sent from place to place to teach under the auspices of his order that he was thus a wanderer. Cantor, who devotes some thirty-five pages altogether to the career and work of Fra Luca Di Borgo, says that this frequent change of professors was what gave the Renaissance schools their power to instruct. There could be no possibility of routine and dry rot in institutions that every year saw the coming of professors from other institutions and the departure of some of the older ones. We have come again to recognize the value of this interchange of professors between schools even from country to country, but it was a matter of course during the Renaissance time. As a matter of fact, the orders, however, were largely responsible for

it, for they were accustomed as a rule not to allow their men to remain more than a few years in one place, but shifted them frequently in order that all of their institutions might have the advantage of the incentive and the inspiration of the presence of particularly successful teachers.

During his wanderings Brother Luca met and became an intimate friend of Leonardo Da Vinci at Milan. Leonardo was, as is well known, deeply interested not only in art, but, with the true Renaissance spirit, also in literature and in the physical sciences and in mathematics. Some of his contributions to mathematics are of great value. He had a deep admiration for Fra Luca and corresponded with him after his departure for Milan. Besides his "Summa," as his great work in mathematics was known, Fra Luca wrote a monograph on the game of chess, which has been lost.

While Fra Luca was at Bologna, Novara was at that university teaching astronomy. Like all the other astronomers, especially at this time, Novara was almost as distinguished in mathematics as in his favorite science. Among his pupils at this time was Copernicus, who had come down from Cracow in order to study astronomy and mathematics in the University of Bologna. While in Italy Copernicus also studied medicine. He was not the only one of the physicians of that time who were great in mathematics. This distinguished group at Bologna, however, points out two very interesting conclusions that are usually not realized in the history of education. One of these is the Renaissance interest in science which we are emphasizing here because it has not always been given its due place, and the other is the spirit of scientific inquiry which characterized the Italian university at this time and which tempted students from all over the world. Astronomy, mathematics and medicine, that is, all the sciences related to medicine, were the favorite sciences of those days. These were cultivated in the ecclesiastically ruled universities of Italy better than anywhere else. Copernicus came from Poland, Linacre from England and a little later Vexalius from Belgium, all in order to study science in Italy, though all the while the Church is said to have been opposed to scientific investigation and teaching.

One of the most eminent mathematicians of the seventeenth century was Gassendi, who in 1645, at the invitation of the Archbishop of Lyons, brother of Cardinal Richelieu, was invited to the chair of mathematics in the College Royal at Paris. Gassendi added practically nothing to our previous knowledge of mathematics, but he deserves an honorable place in the history of this and of the physical sciences for his influence in the diffusion of ideas on these subjects, and because his attractive style tempted many people to a consideration of mathematical and physical problems who would have otherwise

been deterred from studies. Gibbon, the historian, said of him that "he was the best philosopher of the litterateurs and the best litterateur among the philosophers." To a great extent he made the discussion of mathematical and physical problems fashionable in Paris, and thus did much for the diffusion of scientific thought. We owe to him a series of biographies of distinguished scientists that are still well worth the reading. Among them are lives of Tycho-Brahe, Copernicus, Peurbach and Regiomontanus. It is his biographical writings particularly that attracted Gibbon's attention, for they abound in personal and anecdotal details that show the men as they were.

An even greater mathematician so far as original genius for mathematical investigation is concerned, though less well known than Gassendi, was Father Mersenne, a Franciscan, who was born at Maine, in France, September 8, 1588, and died at Paris, 1648. Like Gassendi he was also distinguished as a philosopher and as a theologian. He was an intimate friend of Descartes and was looked upon as one of the great thinkers of France in his time. He discovered the laws of the vibrations of strings and showed that the time of vibration depended upon the length, tension and density of the string. This time, according to the formula that he evolved, varied directly as the length and as the square root of the density and inversely as the square root of the tension. He is considered to be one of the very important contributors to mathematics. Later in this same century came Father John Baptiste Duhamel, a member of the Congregation of the Oratory, a great mathematician. He is one of a series of Frenchmen by this name who did distinguished work in science, the latter of whom, John Marie Constant Duhamel, died in 1872.

There were many other clergymen who did excellent work in mathematics during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The most important of them was the Abbé Haiüy, whose work in crystallography was, of course, mainly the result of his careful study of the angles of crystals and the application of mathematical principles to them. A sketch of his life, giving some details of his discoveries in crystallography, is in the first volume of "Catholic Churchmen in Science" (the Dolphin Press, Philadelphia, 1906). Other clergymen who reached distinction in mathematics at this time were the Abbé Mascheroni, the Abbé Marie, Canon Sluze of Liege, though there were others of less distinction who might be mentioned.

During the centuries after the foundation of the Jesuits, however, the most distinguished clerical students of science in all its branches were to be found in that order which absorbed to a great degree the intellects of Europe that felt themselves called to a life of teaching in

a religious order. There are at least a dozen distinguished mathematicians among the Jesuits during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries whose careers under the circumstances make it very clear that mathematics does not influence faith and faith does not disturb mathematics and the Church does not hamper the work of mathematicians nor do mathematicians find the atmosphere of religious orders unsuited to their labors.

The first of the great Jesuit mathematicians was Clavius, who corrected the calendar for Pope Gregory XIII. The Jesuits were always primarily teachers. Clavius' greatest work in mathematics, then, it is not surprising to find, was a great edition of "Euclid." This work was done so well that he came to be called "the Euclid of the sixteenth century," and his work acquired a universal reputation. Cantor says that a title and a reputation were never better deserved than those of Clavius. He gathered together all the annotations that had ever been made on Euclid, sifted them so as to leave only those which were of value, added many notes and explanations of his own and published as a consequence the text-book that for several centuries was the most used volume throughout Europe. Its almost universal employment may be appreciated from the fact that it went through some fourteen editions. Cantor especially emphasizes that Clavius faced all the difficulties candidly and as far as possible solved them lucidly. His correction of the calendar brought him into a bitter controversy, but he was well able to answer his opponents, and his calendar has in the course of the centuries proved its own justification.

A great contemporary among the Jesuits of Clavius was Father Paul Gulden, who was born in 1577 in South Germany, and died in 1643. In spite of the strenuous opposition of his parents, who were Protestants, he became a convert and then entered the Jesuit novitiate. After his ordination he came to be looked upon as one of the most distinguished professors of mathematics in the order. He wrote four volumes of *centrobaryca*, that is, of discussions on the determination of the centre of gravity. In the course of these he established new rules for the determination of the centre of gravity, in which he corrected the work of Kepler and Cavalieri.

All the astronomers among the Jesuits were well versed in mathematics, and during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as I showed in my "Catholic Churchmen in Science," second series (the Dolphin Press, Philadelphia, 1909), they were the most important group of contributors to astronomy. Such men as Riccioli, whose "Almagestum Novum" is well known; Father Scheiner and Cysatus, who worked on sun spots and comets; Father Boscovitch, whose measurements of a terrestrial arc set him in the forefront of mathe-

matical geographers, and Father Maximilian Hell, whose "Ephemerides" was a standard work for the consultation of astronomers in the eighteenth century, were all of them important contributors to mathematics. In the refounded society during the nineteenth century this tradition of devotion to astronomy and mathematics has been continued. Father Secchi, who is distinguished as a mathematician as well as an astronomer; Father Perry, the English Jesuit, to whom the English Government entrusted several astronomical expeditions, was another; Father Hagen, formerly of Georgetown, D. C., but now the director of the Vatican observatory, called there by Pope Pius X., is well known in the mathematical world for his "Synopsis of the Higher Mathematics," in four quarto volumes.

It would seem, then, that the impression that mathematics or the mathematical faculty is in any way opposed to faith or to the acceptance of the mysteries of religion is quite as unfounded as the impression that would proclaim faith and science as incompatible. Distinguished mathematicians in all ages have been devout believers. Catholic clergymen in every century since the dawn of mathematics in modern time have been distinguished contributors to this branch of science, and a number of them are among the greatest mathematicians who ever lived. It is the old story of an assumption contradicting the facts of history when these facts have not been thoroughly collected. In his sketch of Euler, the great German mathematician of the nineteenth century, Cantor said of him: "Like most of the great mathematicians, Euler was a deeply religious man without any bigotry. He himself led every evening the household devotions of his family, and one of the only polemical writings that he published was his 'Defense of Revelation Against the Objections of Free Thinkers,' the publication of which in 1847, in the immediate neighborhood of the court of Frederick the Great, required an amount of moral courage that would enable the writer to feel himself above the attacks of mere scoffers."

Cantor's expression that "Euler, like most of the great mathematicians, was a deeply religious man" ought absolutely to settle the question of the relations of mathematics and faith for all time. Surely if any one in our time knew the lives of the great mathematicians, it was this learned German special historian, whose work, so frequently borrowed from in this article, is admitted to be the most important authority we have in the history of mathematics. Whatever a priori reasoning may seem to suggest as regards the skeptical tendencies of mathematics, this is not illustrated in the lives of the great mathematicians of the last ten centuries. Many of the minor mathematicians have been led astray from religious faith, apparently by their prejudice in favor of absolute and exact knowl-

edge, but this is not true for the greatest mathematical minds. What is thus true in mathematics is true in all the sciences. The greatest minds, knowing their own limitations very well, have no difficulty in bowing their heads to religious mysteries. The smaller minds become so occupied with the amount of mathematics or science that comes to them that they have no room for the truths of faith. It is the question of the container, not the contents. The smaller intellectual vessels cannot hold two large sets of truths. They are more interested in mathematics than faith, so faith slips out of them. The really great minds, far from finding mathematics or science a hindrance to faith, have their faith deepened and strengthened by every advance that they make in genuine science.

JAMES J. WALSH.

New York, N. Y.

ANCIENT SCOTTISH HOSPITALS.

CHARITABLE institutions for the benefit of suffering humanity are the offspring of faith. Our Lord declared to His first followers: "By this shall all men know that you are My disciples, if you have love one for another." It was the manifestation of this love which led to the foundation in every Christian country of so many institutes of mercy for the relief of needy members of the great family of God. To love all, to pray for all, to sacrifice self for all was to be the aim of the perfect follower of Christ. The practice of the works of mercy—the outcome of such a spirit—was encouraged by the generous promise made by Christ Himself of a special reward at the last day: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you. . . . For I was hungry and you gave me to eat: . . . I was a stranger, and you took me in: naked, and you covered me: sick, and you visited me. . . . Amen I say to you, as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me."

It is not strange, then, that Christianity, from the very first, offered a striking contrast to heathenism in the fostering of institutions which should enable man to imitate more closely his divine model and render salvation more secure by the practice of charity towards his suffering brethren. As soon as the Church was free from persecution houses began to be set apart for the care of the sick and shelter of the needy. St. Chrysostom and St. Basil in the East, St. Paulinus of Nola in the West are some of the bright examples of the early ages in this respect. Later on Councils of the

Church by special legislation bound Bishops to provide such refuges out of the funds of their churches. When rich laymen imitated their example at their own private cost the ecclesiastical authorities had always the supervision of the institutions so founded; thus a Christian character was secured for them which was maintained for centuries.

The very title—"Hospital"—by which these charitable institutions were known expressed the spirit which had led to their foundation. For the name, derived from the Latin, signified a place in which guests (*hospites*) were entertained as representatives of Christ. Whether the building had been set apart for the sick or intended as a shelter for travelers, or permanent home for the aged and indigent—the same title, "Hospital," distinguished it.

It is the aim of this paper to inquire into the institutes of this kind which existed in Scotland in former ages. For Scotland, like every other Christian country, could boast of many such. There is evidence of the existence of about ninety at the period of the Reformation, though it is exceedingly probable that they were greatly in excess of that number, since, even in the case of many hospitals, nothing is known except the fact—testified sometimes by the mere place-name or a casual mention in some old deed—that such an institution did once flourish in a certain spot. But even supposing ninety to have been the total number, it was quite a respectable average for a country whose population is computed to have been about 500,000 in all at the end of the fifteenth century. At the present day one huge city, Glasgow, numbers far more inhabitants.

It is sad to have to record the fact that when what is styled by its admirers the "Reformation in Religion" took place in Scotland, the promoters of the movement were so determined to sweep away, if possible, every vestige of the ancient faith, that even many charitable institutions were suppressed and their revenues seized by spoilers. In too many cases the very buildings belonging to such charities were wrecked and ruined. To the shame of the sacrilegious robbers be it confessed, that no attempt was made for a long period to replace the heritage thus fraudulently snatched from the poor and suffering. "The ancient Church," says a Protestant writer, "was honorably distinguished by its charity towards the poor, and more especially towards the diseased poor; and it was a dreary interval of nearly two centuries which intervened between the extinction of its lazar-houses and leper-houses and the time when merely a civilized humanity dictated the establishment of a regulated means of succor for the sickness-stricken of the humbler classes."¹

The expression "merely a civilized humanity" in the above extract

¹ Chambers, "Domestic Annals," Vol. III., p. 557.

is worthy of comment. It distinguishes accurately the motives which animated Protestant benefactions of the kind under discussion, from the spirit of faith which gave rise to the ancient Catholic foundations. Not that "humanity" was wanting in the latter; but it was a humanity which sprang from the supernatural love of one's kind which the Gospel inculcates, and not a mere sentimental feeling of pity. The old founders acted from the highest motives. Their faith showed them the person of Christ in His suffering members, and they gave their goods to Him rather than to the poor. The old Knights Hospitallers, who devoted themselves so untiringly to the care of the sick during the Crusades, styled themselves "the servants of our masters the poor of Christ." Poverty and sickness were the only credentials necessary to gain admission into their houses, and, once within those walls, a sick man was denied nothing that he asked for, if it could by any possibility be procured. The same spirit animated the founders of a later age and of other lands. The honor of serving Christ in His poor, and of thus winning from Him the promised reward at the last day, weighed more with them than mere human pity, and produced far more striking examples of self-denying charity than was possible to the latter.

But we might say more. Whence springs the feeling that men so glibly style "humanitarianism?" It is not inherent in human nature, for the ancients, even those most highly civilized, despised it. "The number of poor in Rome in the days of Augustus," says Cardinal Gibbons, "exceeded half a million in a population of about two millions of inhabitants. And yet there is no instance recorded in the history of Rome of any asylum for the poor or hospital for the sick having ever been founded, either by the bounty of the State or by private munificence. The same utter disregard for the indigent and afflicted prevailed in Greece and in every ancient nation with which we are acquainted. . . . Even the gentle Virgil includes among the features of the wise man's happiness his apathy for the indigence of others."² Christianity was the first teacher of mercy to suffering humanity, and whatever practices of charity may distinguish the imperfect Christianity of these days, which calls itself Protestant, they are but vestiges of the more Christlike charity of Catholic ages.

DIFFERENT CLASSES OF HOSPITALS.

Before giving a list of the Scottish hospitals, it will be well to distinguish between the various purposes for which they were established. There were four classes of such institutions, though all were comprised under the one designation, "Hospital." The greater

² "Our Christian Heritage," pp. 376-377.

number were intended as houses for the treatment of the sick and diseased. Of these there were two kinds: (1) hospitals for ordinary complaints; (2) those for the harboring and treatment of lepers. But besides these were many institutions which we should call in these days "almshouses;" for they were intended to provide a home for the poor who were no longer able to labor for their livelihood. A fourth class consisted of houses where wayfarers, especially pilgrims to some sacred shrine, might obtain rest and refreshment on their journey free of cost.

In the following table all hospitals which can be traced with any degree of certainty as once existing in Scotland are enumerated under the various counties. The appended letters—A, L or T—stand respectively for Almshouse, Leper-hospital and Travelers' Rest. The institutions named without any such distinction were probably intended mainly for the sick; it must be borne in mind, however, that many hospitals served more than one purpose. A word of explanation is necessary, also, as to the impossibility of furnishing an entirely accurate list. Owing to the changes that have occurred in the names of places and the re-division of parishes, in the course of centuries, the same institution is occasionally mentioned by writers on the subject under more than one designation. Wherever this error has been clearly ascertained, one name only has been given. A few localities are now difficult of identification; such as these have been placed in an appendix. Above all, it has to be borne in mind that some institutions of the kind, and possibly many, have become entirely lost sight of in the course of ages.³

TABLE OF SCOTTISH HOSPITALS.

Aberdeenshire.—Aberdeen: (1) *St. Thomas the Martyr*; (2) *St. Peter*; (3) *St. Anne* (L); (4) *Bishop Dunbar's Hospital* (A).
Kincardine O'Neil.

Ayrshire.—Doonslee; Kingcase (L).

Banffshire.—Banff (A); Rathven (L); Turriff (A).

Berwickshire.—Aldcambus (L); Berwick: (1) *St. Mary*; (2) "*Domus Dei*;" (3) *St. Mary Magdalene*; Dunse; Horndean (A); Hutton; Lauder (A); Legerwood (L); Strafountain in Lammermoor.

Dumfries-Shire.—Dumfries: (1) "*Spital*;" (2) *Annan Bank* ("*How-Spital*") ; Holywood; Sanquhar; Trailltrow.

Dumbartonshire.—Dumbarton (A).

Fifeshire.—Aberdour: (1) *S. S. Mary and Martha* (T); (2) *Countess of Moray's Hospital* (A); Ardross; Newburgh; St. Andrews (T).

³ A drawing of the interior may be found in Parker's "Introduction to Gothic Architecture," p. 233.

Forfarshire.—Arbroath ("Spital Field"); Balgamies; Brechin.
Haddingtonshire.—Ballencrieff (Aberlady Parish); Gosford;
Haddington: (1) *St. Mary*; (2) *St. Laurence*; Houseton; Seton;
Soutra (T).

Kirkcudbrightshire.—Lincluden (A); Kirkmabreck.

Lanarkshire.—Cambuslang; Glasgow: (1) *St. Ninian* (L); (2)
St. Nicholas (A); (3) "*Stable Green Port*" (A and T); Hamilton;
Lanark; Polmadie (A); Shoots (A); Stonehouse; Torrance.

Linlithgowshire.—Linlithgow (T).

Mid-Lothian.—Edinburgh: (1) "*Maison Dieu*" (A); (2) *Bell's Wynd*; (3) *St. Mary's Wynd* (A); (4) *Our Lady in Leith Wynd* (A); (5) *St. Thomas* (A); (6) *St. Paul*; (7) *St. Leonard* (A and T); (8) *Holy Trinity* (A); Dalkeith: (1) *Hospital* (A); (2) *Bal-lantyne's Hospital*, on the road to Edinburgh (A); Hermiston (Currie Parish); Leith; Liberton (L).

Morayshire.—Bridge of Spey (T); Elgin.

Peebleshire.—Linton; Peebles.

Perthshire.—Perth: (1) *St. Leonard*; (2) *St. Paul*; (3) *St. Catherine*.

Renfrewshire.—Crookston, near Neilston.

Roxburghshire.—Cavers; Ednam; Hassendean (T); Jedburgh (T); Maxwell; Monteviot; Nisbet; Old Roxburgh (A and T); Rutherford; Smailholm.

Shetland.—Lerwick (L); Papa Stour (L).

Stirlingshire.—Stirling: (1) *St. James* (L); (2) *Spital's Almshouse* (A).

Wigtonshire.—Stoneykirk.

(Localities unknown.)—Portingraig; Sugden; Kingussie, near Ayr (possibly a misreading for Kingcase); Lesvarde (probably Lasswade, Midlothian).

HOSPITALS FOR THE SICK.

Some particulars may now be given concerning particular institutions, where information is extant. With regard to the arrangement of buildings for sick hospitals, we are able to gain some idea by the remains still to be seen in England. For the Reformation there was of a different kind; ecclesiastical institutions were not wholly devastated, as was generally the case in Scotland; ancient churches and chapels were merely appropriated to the new system, which only gradually developed into Protestantism pure and simple. So that although many ancient institutions eventually perished, many others still remain to this day.

St. Mary's Hospital, Chichester, had a common room resembling the nave of a church, with recesses, like aisles, for the beds of the

patients, and a chapel screened off at the eastern end, after the fashion of a chancel. The Garrison Church at Portsmouth, once a hospital, is built on this plan. At the celebration of Mass the screen which shut off the chancel would be sufficiently opened to enable the sick people to follow the Holy Sacrifice. The graceful Gothic fabric of the Hospital of St. John, Angers, built by the English King Henry II. as Lord of Anjou, in 1184, is an example of the splendid church-like buildings erected out of Christian charity in the ages of faith.⁴

The management of every hospital was in the hands of a rector, or master, who was almost always an ecclesiastic. Frequently he filled the office of chaplain also; otherwise a special priest was maintained for the spiritual care of the sick. The staff comprised attendants; in some case women nurses were provided.

Aberdeen.—It is probable that two of the hospitals in the city were devoted to the care of the sick; these were dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr and St. Peter, respectively. No particulars as to the history of the former can be ascertained. It would appear to have been founded at the period when devotion to the martyred Archbishop of Canterbury, stimulated by the miracles which had testified to his sanctity and which led to his canonization three years after his death, was rapidly spreading throughout the Church. Arbroath Abbey, founded by King William the Lion, who had known the martyr personally, was one of the first dedications to St. Thomas, and dated from the fifth year of his canonization, which took place in 1173. St. Peter's was founded by Bishop Matthew Kyninmond, who filled the See of Aberdeen from 1172 to 1199, and its charter expressly states its designation. The repose of the soul of King William is mentioned as one of the motives which urged the founder to this work of charity. The hospital was situated in the quarter at the south end of the city, still called "Spital" from that circumstance. Some of the endowments granted by the founder for its sustentation, since they had been misappropriated in later years, were withdrawn by succeeding Bishops. In 1307 Bishop Cheyne diverted some of the property to the support of two chaplains, who were bound to celebrate in the Cathedral daily and on Sundays by turn in St. Peter's chapel. What was called the "town of Spital" was left as endowment. In 1527 Bishop Henry Lychtoun seems to have withdrawn the remaining endowments, and his action received sanction from Pope Eugenius IV. a few years later. St. Peter's Cemetery, lying between Old and New Aberdeen, marks the site of this hospital. It is still used as a burying place.

⁴ The chief authorities relied upon for historical information are Chalmers, "Caledonia;" "Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff" (Spalding Club); Walcott, "Ancient Church of Scotland."

Doonslee.—A chapel and hospital dedicated to St. Leonard stood not far from the river Doon, in Ayrshire. Nothing survives of its history except the fact that the master, who was also chaplain, was appointed by the Crown, as the Registry of the Privy Seal testifies (1506-1548). The ruins were still to be seen in the reign of Charles I., when Pont made his map of the district. It is worthy of note that St. Leonard, as will be seen, was a favorite patron of hospitals in general. The saint lived as a hermit in France in the sixth century and was particularly devoted to the liberation of captives, some of whom he is said to have miraculously delivered from prison by his prayers. Sickness may be deemed a species of captivity, as it detains the afflicted from taking part in the ordinary life of the world. This may account for the choice of St. Leonard as the patron of hospitals. Or it may be that the marked devotion to him, existing both in France and England in the Middle Ages, on account of the many miracles attributed to his intercession, was the real reason.

Berwick.—The hospital known as “*Domus Dei*” was founded by Philip de Rydal before the fourteenth century; for William of Roxburgh, who was master in 1332, granted a charter in that year to the monks of Newbattle. The beautiful title—signifying God’s house—appears frequently in relation with such institutions. Sometimes the French form—*Maison Dieu*, or *Hotel de Dieu*—is used. St. Mary’s Hospital, in the same town, has few historic remains. Berwick and the surrounding country were frequently visited by English armies during the conflict for English supremacy in Scotland under the Edwards. When Berwick became English the sovereign assumed the patronage of its hospitals. Robert de Burton, who was a kind of agent for the English in the south of Scotland, obtained in recognition of his services several grants of money as well as the government of this hospital in 1340. Another in the county, at Ednam, fell to him also, and the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, outside the town walls, was given into his charge in 1354. The founder of this latter is unknown. The master swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296, and thus secured the holding of his office and emoluments.

Hutton.—St. John’s Hospital is kept in mind by the title “Spital” still applied to private property there. The guardian in 1296 imitated the servile example of so many others in his position, and took the oath of allegiance to the English King in order to retain his office.

Strafontain.—The hospital founded in the reign of David I., by an unknown benefactor, was given to the monks of Dryburgh in 1437. Its old graveyard and the ruins of a chapel were still to be seen about a century ago.

Dumfries.—The names of "Spital," on the south of the town, and "How-Spital" and "Spital-Ridding," still borne by a hamlet and village respectively, near the bank of the Annan, are the only traces remaining of the two hospitals which once flourished there.

Haddington.—To pass over the several unimportant hospitals in the county, the town itself possessed two. St. Mary's stood within the walls; St. Laurence was the patron of another near the town, and has given the name to a hamlet upon its site. Haddington was rich in ecclesiastical buildings. Besides the parish Church of St. Mary, there were chapels dedicated to St. Laurence, St. Catherine, St. Martin, St. Kentigern and St. John—the latter belonging to the order of knights of that name. A Protestant writer thus sarcastically comments upon the fact, conveying a well-merited rebuke to certain of his co-religionists: "All those chapels were founded by the piety of ages which have been long considered as superstitious by those who do less and talk more."⁵

Lanark.—The hospital of St. Leonard stood about half a mile east of the town. It was founded either in the reign of William the Lion (1165-1214) or under Robert I., in a later century. A chapel was attached to it, and the endowment was furnished by lands called by the name of the patron saint and by others near Carluke called "Spital Fields." In 1393 Robert III. granted the hospital and its revenues to Sir John de Dalyell and his heirs, on condition that three Masses be said weekly forever for the King, his wife, Queen Annabella, their children, ancestors and successors. Just before the Reformation the master, John Hamilton, was deposed as incapable of holding the chaplaincy, he having married a wife. He had evidently become a convert to the new religion. In 1792 the ruins of the hospital might still be seen. Its revenues were applied for the benefit of the poor after the Reformation—a procedure by no means common.

Other hospitals in the same county have no history. Torrance, dedicated to St. Leonard, existing in the thirteenth century, was entirely swept away at the Reformation and not a vestige remains. Cambuslang is remembered by the "Lands of Spital" and "Spital Mill," once forming part of its property.

Edinburgh.—This city was rich in hospitals. Most of these will fall under another class of institution, although it is probable that some of them, in addition to housing the poor, took care of the sick. In Bell's Wynd was a *Maison Dieu*, whose founder is unknown, and no particulars remain as to its history. St. Paul's Hospital and chapel attached appear in a document of the date of 1495, but of the history of the institution nothing is known.

⁵ Chalmers, "*Caledonia*," Vol. II., p. 514 (original edition).

Leith.—The hospital and chapel of St. Nicholas gave the name to St. Nicholas' Wynd in this town.

Peebles.—About two miles from the town stood a hospital for the sick and indigent, dedicated to St. Leonard. Its site is indicated by the name "Chapel Yards," still in use.

Crookston.—The only hospital which can be traced in the county of Renfrew was one which stood on the west side of the Levern Water, not far from Neilston. Its founder was Robert de Croc, a vassal of the Steward of Scotland, who had settled near Neilston at a place which eventually became called after him, "Croc's-toun"—afterwards modified to Crukstown and Crookston. In 1180 this Robert obtained leave from the Abbot of Paisley, in whose jurisdiction the locality was, for a chaplain to perform divine service in the chapel lately founded by him in connection with the hospital for the sick on his estate. Permission was granted saving the rights of the Mother Church of Paisley; offerings were not to be taken, and the dead were to be carried to Paisley for burial.⁶

There are many reasons which seem to identify this chapel with one bearing the name of St. Conall in the same neighborhood, whose revenues were later on attached to the collegiate church founded by the Sempills at Lochwinnoch. St. Conall's Chapel was situated on the left bank of the Levern, as was Croc's Hospital Chapel. St. Conall is identical with the Irish St. Conval, whose name, corrupted from Conual, appears as Connall in certain writings; he was patron of Eastwood (now Pollokshaws) and of Inchinnan and was probably the apostle of that district.

Old Roxburgh.—The Maison Dieu here, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, harbored pilgrims as well as the diseased and poor. It was endowed by David I. with the lands of Ravendene. A hamlet called Maison Dieu still marks its site. Nisbet, in the same county, had a hospital which is said to have belonged to the Knights of St. John at Ancrum, a village in the neighborhood. The old cemetery, called "Spital," was used for centuries by those "who love to lie among their progenitors," as one writer puts it. Other institutions of like kind in the county are identified now by the name "Spital." This is the case with Ednam (St. Leonard's), Monteviot, Cavers and Smailholm.

LEPER HOUSES.

The most terrible disease of mediæval Christendom was leprosy. It seems to have entered Western Europe with the Roman armies returning from the East in the century before the Christian era, and to have been carried to the various Roman colonies of Spain, Gaul and Britain. But it was through the constant intercourse with the

⁶ "Registrum de Passelet" (Maitland Club), p. 77.

East, brought about by the Crusades, that leprosy became epidemic in Europe. In the ages when medical science was less accurate than now it is possible that many cases of simpler diseases of the skin were mistaken for leprosy. There is no doubt, however, that there were many persons in various parts of Europe afflicted by the actual malady still rife in some Eastern countries.

Hospitals for lepers began to be founded in Europe as early as the seventh century. By the thirteenth they are said to have numbered as many as 19,000. France alone had 2,000. The first hospital of the kind in Great Britain was probably that at Canterbury, which was in existence in the eleventh century. In form the buildings differed somewhat from those of ordinary hospitals for the sick. Separate cells were constructed round a quadrangle. There was a chapel and a common hall, a kitchen and a habitation for the attendants. The contagious nature of the disease led to the enforcing by law of strict isolation. Lepers were bound to wear a special costume, which consisted usually of a long gray gown, with a hood attached which could be drawn over the face. They were not permitted to enter inns, churches, mills or bakehouses; they were forbidden to touch any healthy person or to eat with such; they might not wash in streams or walk on narrow or frequented footpaths.

Some particulars may now be given regarding the more important of the Scottish institutions of the kind. With regard to many no information is extant beyond the mere fact of their existence. It will be necessary, therefore, to confine our remarks to the few which have some shreds of history remaining.

Kingcase.—At this place, situated on the coast of Kyle, and in the parish of Prestwick, not far from the town of Ayr, King Robert Bruce established a hospital for lepers which he dedicated to St. Ninian. The name has been variously written Kilcause, Kilcais, Kingcase, etc. Some etymologists seek to derive it from the Gaelic and interpret the meaning as "Retreat of the Plague." The hospital was endowed for the support of eight lepers, for whom a chaplain was appointed who filled the post of master also. The pious King may have been led to show his charity in this form by the fact that in the later years of his life he suffered from a disease which seems to have been a species of leprosy and which eventually caused his death. The chapel attached to this hospital was still standing in the reign of Charles I. With the disappearance of leprosy from Scotland, the institution assumed a different character, as was the case with others of the same nature; the revenues were applied to the support of a certain number of poor persons, who were lodged in little cottages near the original site. The ruins which remain show the chapel to have measured about 36 feet in length.

Rathven.—About 1224 a hospital for lepers was founded here by John Bisset, a member of a noble family of Norman origin, which settled in Scotland in the twelfth century. This John Bisset seems to have been a kinsman of the James Bisset who founded Beaulieu Priory in 1230; for he was one of the benefactors of that house. It is worthy of note that Manassar Bisset, who held office in the court of Henry II. of England, founded a leper hospital at Maiden Bradley in Wiltshire; he was probably belonging to another branch of the same family. The titular of the Rathven hospital, as of the parish, was St. Peter; for the parish extends for some distance along the Banffshire coast and is inhabited chiefly by a fishing population.

The foundation charter thus expresses the motives of the founder: "For reasons of charity, and for the benefit of the soul of my Lord, William, King of Scotland, and the welfare of my Lord, Alexander, our noble King, and for the good of the souls of my predecessors and successors, etc." The endowment provided for the support of seven leprous persons, with their chaplain and a servant. The right of presentation was reserved to the founder's family.

Like others of the same class, this hospital seems to have become changed in character when leprosy was no longer rife in the district in which it stood. In 1536 Bishop William Stewart approved of the increase of the number of poor persons then enjoying the benefit of the hospital funds from three to six. The bedesmen—a title which designated persons whose chief duty was to pray for others—were bound to recite daily in the church before midday "the Psalter of the Blessed Virgin Mary," as the Rosary was then styled. Each evening two of them had to take turns to say the same prayers "on bended knees." Their official dress was a habit of white cloth, with a hood, "like that of Carthusians," to cover the head. The intention of these daily prayers is stated as the welfare of King James V., of the Bishop, of the rector of the hospital and of the parishioners of Rathven, and for the eternal rest of the faithful departed.

The institution survived the Reformation, and many allusions to it occur in the presbytery records. In 1624 there are grievous complaints of the ruinous state of the house and neglect of the bedesmen's alms. In 1634 it was reported that matters were still unsatisfactory, that the poor men were not supplied with habits according to the prescription of the foundation charter and were not subject to any order. Ten years later the bedesmen appeared in their habits and testified that they had received their dues. At the same time it was decreed that "a seat be erected for them in the kirk, that it may be known if any of them be absent." It was further enacted that no one should be admitted to the bedehouse in future who was unable to say the Commandments, Creed and Lord's Prayer. In 1675 the

bedesmen received a reprimand from the presbytery for unsatisfactory conduct. "The six poor men appearing before the brethren were exhorted to keep the house, not gadding abroad, to be devout, to keep the church, and for that end a seat was to be erected for them by themselves to have prayers morning and evening, and other duties, to all which they engaged themselves."

The building had fallen to ruins more than twenty years ago, though six poor persons of the parish continued to receive a share in the revenue of the ancient foundation.⁷

Glasgow.—Near the Gorbals end of the old Glasgow bridge, the predecessor of the present Victoria bridge, stood the leper hospital of St. Ninian, founded in the fourteenth century. Near it were a chapel and a cemetery. The Bishops of Glasgow had the right of presenting patients; indeed, according to certain authorities, the foundation was due to one of their number, as the law required them to provide a suitable place for the harboring of lepers. The chapel, if not first built by him, was at least restored about the end of the fifteenth century by Canon William Stewart. In addition to the existing revenue he endowed it with the rents of certain houses and lands to provide for the support of a chaplain to celebrate Mass there. He ordained that the lepers should assemble every evening at the sound of a bell to pray in the chapel for his soul after his death, as well as for the souls of other benefactors. On the anniversary of his death each year the chaplain was bound to assemble in the chapel twenty-four poor scholars skilled in singing, who should assist at his Requiem and should say afterwards the seven penitential psalms and a *De Profundis* for his soul's rest. For these services each scholar was to receive one penny and twelve pence were to be divided amongst lepers not belonging to the hospital.

The institution did not come to an end at the Reformation. In 1589 there were six patients. As late as 1610 an ordinance of the Town Council decreed: "It is enacted and ordained that the lepers of the hospital shall go only upon the causeway side near the gutter, and shall have clappers, and a cloth upon the mouth and face, and shall stand afar off, while they receive alms or answer, under the pain of banishing them the town and hospital."⁸

The name "St. Ninian's Croft," which clung to the district up to a century ago, recalled the site of this charitable institution. The chapel survived the hospital by more than a century. In 1798 it served as a parish school; upper stories, which had been constructed in the building, were utilized as a prison. In 1827 it was converted into dwelling houses and shops, but was entirely swept away in 1866.

⁷ Cramond, "Church and Churchyard of Rathven" (Banff, 1885).

⁸ "Origines Parochiales Scotia" (Bannatyne Club), Vol. I., p. 18.

A number of human bones which were discovered in the neighborhood many years ago were supposed to indicate the site of the former cemetery of this hospital.

Edinburgh.—There is no indication of the existence of a leper hospital in this city in Catholic ages. About two miles from the centre of Edinburgh stood the village of Liberton—now forming almost a part of the city. The name is said to indicate the situation of such an establishment, since it is interpreted to signify “Leper Town.” This is not improbable, as hospitals of this class were usually situated on the outskirts of a populous city.

After the Reformation the former Carmelite monastery in Greenside, within the city, which had been founded by one of the later provosts in 1528 and called Holy Cross, was constituted as a leper hospital by John Robertson, a merchant, in 1591. Although this establishment scarcely falls within our scope, a few words about it may not be out of place, since the spirit in which it was conducted differed so widely from that which prevailed in the old Catholic hospitals.

The poor afflicted creatures residing in this Greenside institution were not only forbidden to leave the house by night or day, but even to open the gates between sunrise and sunset. The prohibition may have been dictated by a commendable prudence, but the penalty for disobedience was out of all proportion to the offense. This penalty was hanging! The lepers were kept constantly in mind of it by the gallows erected on the gable end of the building. Solicitude for the healthy seems to have overbalanced sympathy for the poor sufferers. The place, for them, was rather a prison than a home! Day by day each sat in turn silent by the entrance, shaking a clapper to ask alms from the passersby, to be dropped into a cup provided for the purpose.

Shetland Isles.—That two leper hospitals should exist in these northern isles is a proof of the prevalence there of the malady. This may have been owing to frequent intercourse with Norway, where the disease was unusually rife. The fact that it lingered on in Shetland for a century or two after it had generally disappeared in Scotland may be explained in the same way. The last leper died in Shetland in 1798. There was, however, one later case in Edinburgh in 1809.

In the designation “Lazar House,” often met with in regard to leper hospitals, there is obvious reference to that model of patient sufferers, the Lazarus of the Gospel narrative, who lay at the rich man’s gate “full of sores.” In some countries the same Lazarus (declared to be a saint in heaven by our Lord Himself) was the patron of such institutions. Doubtless the thought of the reprob-

tion of the unhappy rich man for his heartless neglect of the miserable object at his palace gate had much to do with fostering the tender charity which led the rich in the ages of faith to provide bountifully for similar poor outcasts.

ALMSHOUSES.

It has already been remarked that many of the hospitals enumerated above may have combined more than one purpose; some of them, indeed, may have been what we should call almshouses and not refuges for the sick; but the dearth of records prevents accurate knowledge. We are not left in doubt regarding those which follow, which were certainly instituted primarily as homes for the aged poor.

The buildings devoted to this class of hospital were arranged similarly to those of a small college. There was a chapel, a residence for the master, a common hall for meals and rooms for the pensioners. The ancient Hospital of St. Thomas, at Northampton, consists of a building divided into small rooms, connected with a beautiful Gothic chapel, now happily restored to Catholic worship. A residence for master or chaplain stood apart. At St. Cross, near Winchester, the arrangement was something after the fashion of a Carthusian monastery; there was a common hall and a chapel and separate chambers, all grouped round a central court.

Aberdeen.—The institution founded by Bishop Gavin Dunbar, not far from his cathedral in Old Aberdeen, will serve as a fair example of such hospitals as we are now considering; for, luckily, many interesting particulars remain concerning the daily life of its inmates as well as its origin. The foundation charter was dated February 23, 1532. It was ratified by James V. on the same day at Edinburgh. Unhappily the generous founder did not live to see the fulfillment of his desires; he died in the month following. The Bishop prescribed that the hospital should be dedicated to St. Mary. The house was to measure 100 feet in length and 32 in breadth; it was to contain six cells on either side, with a hall for meals at the west end and a chapel towards the east; a wooden steeple containing a bell was to crown the building.

A manse was to be provided for the chaplain, who was to serve one of the altars in the cathedral. The twelve bedesmen were to be such as had no wives; they must have been either resident upon the lands of the Bishop or have taken part in the building of the cathedral (for Bishop Dunbar had completed the structure by adding the two western towers and the south transept), or have served in the King's army, or taken part in the defense of the rights of the city of Aberdeen. In default of such candidates, any persons in misery

who claimed pity might be received. No inmate, except in extraordinary cases, might be less than sixty years of age.

The bedesmen were bound to pray four times daily in their oratory and once at midnight. They were to be present at Mass daily in the cathedral. In public processions they were to appear clad in their white gowns.

Over the entrance of the hospital were carved the arms of James V. on one side and of the founder on the other. An inscription ran: "Duodecim pauperibus donum hanc Reverendus Pater Davinus Dunbar hujus alme sedis quondam pontifex edificari jussit anno a Christo nato MDXXXII."

In English it would read: "The Reverend Father Gavin Dunbar, formerly Bishop of this see, caused this house to be built for the use of twelve poor persons, in the year of Christ 1532."

There are no remains of the hospital, but the revenues are still given to certain of the poor of the city.

Turriff.—An ancient Celtic monastery is said to have been founded here by St. Congan, an Irish saint of the eighth century. It stood on a lofty bank overlooking the Valley of the Dee. In the thirteenth century it became attached to the Abbey of Arbroath. About 1272, however, a hospital was founded there by the Earl of Buchan, who endowed it for a rector, six chaplains, who were to live in community, and thirteen poor husbandmen of Buchan. Nothing remains of the buildings except the choir and belfry of the old church which served for the parish church. Some years ago a curious old wall painting of St. Ninian was discovered in the chancel; it is supposed to have formed part of a series of such decorations. The pre-Reformation bell, dated 1557, hangs in the old belfry, although for about thirty-four years it had served for the new church, to which it had been transferred.

Glasgow.—Passing over the mention of other institutions of the kind whose history possesses little of interest, we may take a cursory glance at those of Glasgow. The chief almshouse in the city was that dedicated to St. Nicholas. It was founded by Bishop Andrew Muirhead, about the year 1455. The buildings of this hospital stood on the west side of Castle street, not far from the Bishop's palace. A beautiful Gothic chapel formed their chief feature, and a manse for the chaplain, who filled also the position of master, stood near it. The institution was provided for the lodging and sustenance of twelve poor men. Women nurses were employed to minister to the infirm inmates.

After the Reformation those who were bound to pay the annual rents neglected for the most part to do so; consequently the buildings fell to ruins. In 1795 the remains of the chapel had been converted

into a cow house—one example out of many of the loss of the spirit of reverence towards sacred objects and places characteristic of the Scottish Reformation.

In the same quarter of the city, near the Stable Green Port, another house of a similar kind was founded in 1491 by Roland Blackader, sub-dean of Glasgow Cathedral. It was called in familiar speech the Back Almshouse. It was more particularly intended for the benefit of the poor and indigent casually coming to the city, persons whom in these days we should call “tramps.” An honest man and his wife were placed in charge of the house and were required to keep six beds always prepared. There seems to have been no chapel attached, as the master was always to officiate at the altar of St. John and St. Nicholas in the cathedral, which was endowed for his support. This institution became merged into St. Nicholas’ Hospital later.

Polmadie.—The ancient hospital dedicated to St. John, near Rutherglen, may almost be classed with Glasgow institutions of the kind. It seems probable that it was founded by one of the Bishops of the city, as they possessed the right of presentation. It was in existence before 1316, when it is mentioned in a charter of King Robert the Bruce. In the same year Bishop Robert appointed Sir Patrick Floker to be master of the hospital and to exercise authority over the inmates. The institution was intended for the support of poor men and women. A precept of Bishop Matthew in 1391 directed the master and Brothers to receive Gillian de Waux as a sister and portioner of the house during her life. Other records speak of the poor Brothers and Sisters dwelling in the hospital. The revenues of St. John’s were transferred to the collegiate church of Dumbarton in the fifteenth century, about the same period as the foundation of St. Nicholas’ Hospital, Glasgow. The latter may, perhaps, have been intended to carry on the work of the more ancient institute. No vestige of Polmadie Hospital is remaining.

Edinburgh.—The almshouse in this city about which we possess most information was the Hospital of St. Thomas in the Canongate. It was founded in 1541 by George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, a former abbot of Holyrood Abbey, near which the hospital was built. The founder endowed the establishment for the support of seven poor and aged men. Two chaplains were attached to the almshouse, who were required to say Mass at the altars of St. Andrew and St. Catherine in the abbey church. The bedesmen were bound to rise at 8 o’clock—a late hour for those days. The arrangement affords an idea of the merciful spirit of such institutions for wornout and aged pensioners. They were required to say certain prescribed prayers before the altars of the church in behalf of the soul of the

founder and of other benefactors. These prayers consisted of fifteen *Pater Noster*, fifteen *Ave Maria* and three *Credo*, in honor of God, the Blessed Virgin, St. Andrew and St. Catherine. On Sundays and festivals they wore red gowns at High Mass and also when taking part at any time in processions. Their Sunday and feast day prayers consisted of five *Pater*, fifty *Ave* and one *Credo*—equivalent to a Rosary; at Vespers two Rosaries were prescribed. They were forbidden to beg of any one under pain of expulsion. Although this establishment was continued after the Reformation as a hospital for the poor, the revenues were squandered. In 1778 the building was demolished.

The old Maison Dieu, in Greyfriars, which had fallen into decay, was reconstituted by James V. and dedicated to St. Magdalen. Michael and Janet Macquean contributed to the revenues for the support of seven bedesmen and a chaplain. The benefactress was buried in the chapel in 1547.

St. Mary's Hospital, in Leith Wynd, was founded by Bishop Spence, of Aberdeen, for twelve poor men. It was made into a workhouse in 1619, having been granted to the magistrates at the Reformation. Its chapel, dedicated to St. Paul, procured for it in later times the name of "Paul's Work."

Ballantyne's Hospital, standing by the road leading from Edinburgh to Dalkeith, may be reckoned as one of the city almshouses. It was founded by Robert Ballantyne, abbot of Holyrood, for seven poor folk, under a master.

Stirling.—An old almshouse in this city calls for a word or two of reference by reason of the circumstances of its foundation. It owed its existence to the charity of Robert Spittal, tailor to King James IV., who provided thus for decayed merchants and tradesmen of the city. It stood near the gate of St. Mary's Wynd. In an old house in the neighborhood a stone tablet of still older date has carved upon it the representation of a pair of tailor's scissors, with the inscription: "This hous is foundit for support of ye puir be Robert Spittal, taillyour to James ye 4th. Anno 1530, R. S." The unusual surname, coupled with the fact of this foundation, would suggest that the name was popularly bestowed upon the founder in recognition of his benefaction.

RESTS FOR PILGRIMS AND TRAVELERS.

In what may be styled the Monastic Ages monasteries were the recognized stopping places for travelers. The reception of strangers to rest on their journey was carefully provided for by the founders of religious orders in the early centuries. The monks of the East were renowned for their hospitality to travelers, and later legislators

followed their example. St. Benedict, whose rule survived those of all other Western founders, gives minute instructions on the subject. It has been remarked that nowhere in his rule is his tender forethought more remarkable than in the provision made for the care of guests and strangers, in whom he required his sons to recognize our Lord Himself.

Later on, when traveling became more general, although monasteries as long as they lasted were noted for hospitality, it would have been subversive of their monastic discipline to receive the multitudes always passing from place to place. It was then that hostels came into being, where lodging and refreshment for travelers were provided for payment by secular owners. Still there was often need of some lodging place for those who were either altogether destitute or too poor to afford the necessary payment; in many localities, moreover, there were no monasteries at hand. Hence arose hospitals (a title akin to hostel) to supply the want.

A remarkable example of this kind of charity is found in the establishment at Jerusalem by the Knights of St. John of a hospital for pilgrims capable of holding 2,000 persons, with an infirmary for the sick in connection with it. Their charity in this respect won for them the popular title of hospitallers. Every country of Europe in the middle ages could boast of numerous establishments of a like kind if on a humbler scale.

We may now take a brief view of some of the more important of the Scottish foundations of this class—less numerous than hospitals for the sick and indigent.

Aberdour.—James, first Earl of Morton, at the instigation of Sir John Scot, vicar of Aberdour and canon regular of Inchcolm Abbey, founded in 1487 a hospital for pilgrims to the holy well for which Aberdour was famed. He dedicated it to "God and His Blessed Mother Mary, Our Lady ever Virgin, and to the Blessed Martha, the hostess of Our Lord." In the concluding words we see expressed the truly Christian idea that Christ was received in the person of the stranger. The care of the institution was given to the vicar and his successors. In 1487 a change was made in the management. The hospital was handed over to four Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, who were constituted guardians by Papal charter, receiving all the rights both of a hospital and of a convent of that particular branch of their order. The four Sisters were named Isobel Wight (appointed superior for life), Jean Wight, Frances Henryson and Jean Drosse. A school for girls was also added. The hospital lasted for seventy-three years only. At the Reformation the Sisters transferred the lands of the hospital to the Earl of Morton. These consisted of the eight acres commonly

called "The Sisterlands," together with their place and garden in the town of Aberdour.⁹

The Holy Well, which was probably named after St. Fillan, the titular of the parish church, was renowned up to the eighteenth century for the cure of diseases of the eyes. This will give an idea of how great the concourse to it must have been in previous ages.

St. Andrews.—The buildings and endowments of St. Leonard's Hospital, or Lesser Guest House for Pilgrims, in connection with the Augustinian Priory of St. Andrews, were appropriated by Prior Hepburn in 1512 for the foundation of St. Leonard's College in the university.

Soutra.—This hospital, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, was perhaps the most liberally endowed institution of the kind in Scotland. It stood near the summit of a lofty hill, rising some 1,200 feet above the sea, distant about seventeen miles from Edinburgh. King Malcolm IV. was its munificent founder in 1164. He destined it for the relief of pilgrims and of the poor and sick. This was one of the holy places in Scotland which enjoyed the privilege of "sanctuary"—in other words, criminals flying from justice or the weak from oppressors might not be molested as long as they remained there. At Soutra, as in other such sanctuaries, the privileged space was marked out by crosses connected by chains, and the person taking refuge within those boundaries was safe from pursuit. As it stood near the road leading to the capital, as well as to one which led across the moors to the renowned Abbey of Melrose, this house must have been greatly frequented. Later monarchs added to the revenues, so that the hospital enjoyed great possessions for many centuries. Some of its masters were men of note. One of them, Thomas Lauder, who had been tutor to James II., became Bishop of Dunkeld in 1453. Queen Mary of Gueldres, widow of James II., appropriated the revenues for the foundation of Holy Trinity collegiate church and hospital, Edinburgh, in the fifteenth century. Some ruins of the church of Soutra Hospital still remain. The titles "Girth Gate" and "Cross Chain Hill," lingering in the neighborhood, recall the place of sanctuary. "Tarnty" or Trinity Well, near the church, is still pointed out.

Linlithgow.—In the time of Alexander II. a monastery of the Order of St. Lazarus stood at the east of the town. The order was an offshoot from that of the Knights of St. John, and its houses were founded chiefly for the benefit of lepers and indigent members of the military orders. The Linlithgow house seems to have fallen into decay, and James I. (1424-6) restored it as a hospice for pilgrims,

⁹ "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," Vol. III., pp. 214-218.

dedicating it to St. Mary Magdalene. It stood at the foot of an eminence called "Pilgrims' Hill."

Bridge of Spey.—Muriel de Polloc, Lady of Rothes, founded a hospital for the reception of poor travelers on the bank of the Spey, near the point where the Highland Railway now crosses the river between the Orton and Mulben stations. The establishment was dedicated to St. Nicholas. The foundress and others, among them King Alexander II., added to the original revenues. The position of the hospital, on the direct route from the south to the famous shrine of St. Duthac at Tain, suggests a motive for its foundation. But there was another favorite place of pilgrimage hard by which probably had some influence in determining its site. This was the famous Well of Grace, a healing spring dedicated to Our Lady, at which many miracles have been wrought throughout the ages, even to our own days. The chapel by the well was served by one of the priests of St. Nicholas' Hospital. It was thrown down by the Presbyterians after the Reformation, in the hope, which has never yet been wholly realized, of preventing pilgrimages to the well. Up to the middle of the seventeenth century the presbytery records of the district have frequent notices of punishments dealt out to parishioners who dared to resort to that "superstitious chappell beyond Spey." Catholics still hold the holy well in reverence and visit it devoutly.

With these brief notes of some of the more important foundations for the relief of the poor, the sick and those needing shelter and refreshment, we take leave of a subject which we venture to think will prove of much interest to all who love to recall the noble deeds inspired by faith belonging to ages that have passed.

MICHAEL BARRETT, O. S. B.

Fort Augustus, Scotland.

THE ESCHATOLOGY OF THE POETS: A STUDY IN
OPTIMISM.—II.

DANTE, TENNYSON, BROWNING AND NEWMAN.

A THOUSAND years intervene between Ossian and Dante—a thousand years of silence. But silence is strong. Out of those ten silent centuries come Giotto and Francis of Assisi, Thomas of Aquin and Dante Alighieri. Giotto and Francis can tell us what their age felt, as Thomas can tell us what it thought; but Dante can compass and synthesize its feeling and its thinking. He is the very soul of mediævalism. He believes intensely in God and in man, in the freedom of the will and in the power of the mind to know truth. As a necessary corollary he believes in a dogmatic Christianity. Assent to such a creed implies neither narrowness nor bigotry nor fanaticism. Rather does it imply sufficient breadth to choose a position and sufficient courage to defend it. When a man says that he has outgrown definitions; when he accepts the relative as final and scoffs at the idea of an absolute; when he drops into an hysterical skepticism concerning truth and goodness and beauty—then is he making rapid progress backwards, then is he sinking slowly but surely into the *como* of the animal and the dreamy senselessness of the wayside weed. “Trees have no dogmas,” Mr. Chesterton tells us; “turnips are singularly broad-minded.”

The “Divine Comedy” is an attempt to put all theology, all philosophy and all human experience into one supreme poem. It is the history of one man and the history of all mankind. “Dante was the first great poet,” Lowell informs us, “who ever made a poem wholly out of himself.” He was the first to discover that the story of every human soul is an epic. His “*Commedia*” is pure biography, yet there is nothing local, nothing parochial about it. “There is one meaning,” the poet explains in his letter to Can Grande, “that is derived from the letter, and another that is derived from the things indicated by the letter. The first is called literal, but the second is allegorical or mystical. Now, if we take the poem according to the letter alone, it is simply a consideration of the state of souls after death; but if we interpret the work allegorically, it is a vision of the life of the soul of man as a responsible agent endowed with free will.” It is this mystical meaning that gives the poem its universal appeal. Any soul that has ever been guilty of a mortal sin can understand and interpret the “*Inferno*,” any soul that has ever struggled back to union with God by prayer and penance can appreciate the “*Purgatorio*,” while all souls at peace, souls in the state of grace can

read and comprehend, to some extent at least, the "Paradiso." In our study we shall consider the literal meaning only—the views of the poet concerning the life after death.

Dante's cosmography is simple enough, for all that he uses the Ptolemaic system. He assumes that the earth is spherical, with the sun, moon and stars revolving around it. There are two hemispheres—an eastern of land and a western of water. In the centre of the land hemisphere is the city of Jerusalem directly over the hollow pit of hell; in the centre of the water hemisphere is the island—mount of Purgatory, up whose precipitous sides repentant sinners climb to heaven. The pit of hell and the mount of Purgatory are the result of Satan's fall. When he fell he crashed through the rocky crust of the earth, never stopping until he reached its centre. There gravity prevented him from going further, and he stuck fast. The very rocks drew back in horror as he passed through their rent folds. It was then that the infernal pit, at the bottom of which Satan lies, was excavated and that the portion of the earth displaced to form hell was thrust up under the ancient site of Eden in the hemisphere of water. Thus the terrestrial Paradise became the summit of the mount of Purgatory. Above the earth are the nine heavens, one above the other, each a hollow revolving sphere enclosing and enclosed. The moon comes first; then Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. Beyond Saturn are the heaven of the Fixed Stars and the Primum Mobile. Outside these spheres is the Empyrean, the throne of the Godhead, the unmoved centre of the universe.

Dante's hell is a hollow inverted cone growing narrower as it descends, in which as space contracts, torment is intensified. There is gradation everywhere—no two souls suffer alike, for no two have sinned alike. Evil is evil and good is good. Dante never mistakes light for darkness. Sin is not a misfortune, or a disease, or a necessity; it is a criminal choice, a wilful self-destruction. Aristotle tells us in his treatise on Ethics that there are three things to be morally avoided—intemperance, malice and violence. Dante keeps to these three divisions. Sins of intemperance are punished in the first five circles, which constitute a sort of upper hell. In the sixth circle, which stands alone, are the heretics. The lower hell of violence and malice is the terrible city of Dis, the true kingdom of Lucifer. In the centre of the infernal pit, at the point farthest from the sunlight, farthest from God, stretches the vast bulk of Satan, eight hundred and forty feet in length, frozen fast in an icy marsh. He has three heads, one red, one white and one black, to represent the three divisions of the race he led to perdition. In his mouths he crunches three traitors—Judas, Brutus and Cassius. As he flaps

his bat-like wings, a frosty blast whistles over the dismal marsh and the cold intensifies. There is to be no surcease to these sufferings. They are to last forever. It is so stated in the dread inscription over the entrance:

Through me you pass into the city of woe;
Through me you pass into eternal pain.
Through me among the people lost for aye.
Justice the founder of my fabric moved;
To rear me was the task of Power divine,
Supremest Wisdom and primeval Love.
Before me things create were none, save things
Eternal, and eternal I endure.
All hope abandon ye who enter here.

In this abandonment of hope lies the essence of the "Inferno;" this is what constitutes it hell.

The "Inferno" is the best known of the three divisions of the "Divine Comedy." It has been said that people enjoy it so much that they do not care to go on to the "Purgatorio" or the "Paradiso." Perhaps the Paradise is too full of light and life and joy; perhaps its interests are too far removed from those of ordinary life to hold the average mind. But these objections cannot be urged against the Purgatory. For while, in the literal sense, Purgatory is the receptacle for human spirits that have a debt of temporal punishment to pay after death, in the mystical sense it represents the rehabilitation of repentant sinners in this world, their escape from the tyranny of evil into an atmosphere of moral and intellectual freedom. Such a theme ought to find a ready response in every human heart. The mount of Purgatory, as Dante conceives it, is a steep ascent of surpassing height rising out of the waters of the South Sea. It is a sweet and holy dwelling-place, illumined by a constellation in the form of a cross. Its grassy slopes are kept green by the tears of penitents and its courts resound with hymns and prayers, a welcome relief after the shrieks and blasphemies of Satan and his demon-horde. There is an ante-Purgatory in charge of Cato of Utica, the Cato who committed suicide after reading Plato on the immortality of the soul.

At St. Peter's gate Purgatory proper begins. This gate is guarded by an angel with a flaming sword. All who enter are marked by this angel seven times with the letter P, which stands for the Latin *Peccavi*—I have sinned. Then come seven terraces of expiation for the punishment of the seven deadly sins. In every case the punishment is suited to the transgression. The slothful, for example, run races and shout out instances of diligence as they run; the proud are bowed to the earth by weights of stone; the envious have their eyes sewed up by iron threads and are mantled in haircloth. The process of purgation for each soul continues until every P has been

removed. When a penitent finally recovers his baptismal innocence the whole mountain shakes for joy. The purified spirit passes on to the terrestrial Paradise, where it drinks of the waters of Lethe, which wash away all memory of sin, and of the waters of Eunoe, which quicken the memory of all good done. Then is it ready to ascend to the celestial Paradise; it is "apt," as Cary's translation has it, "for mounting to the stars."

Through the "Inferno" and the "Purgatorio" Virgil was Dante's guide, but in the "Paradiso" Beatrice performs that office. In the twenty-seventh canto of the "Purgatorio" Dante is reminded that Beatrice is near. In the thirtieth he meets her. With a few tears of gratitude he abandons the old guide for the new. Virgil, human reason, gives place to Beatrice, divine revelation, and Dante begins his third, his highest flight. For the "Paradiso" is Dante's supreme effort, his "Sublime Canticle," as he calls it in the letter to Can Grande. But with all its light and life and joy, the "Paradiso" will never be a popular poem. "It is too defecated from sublunary things by long and solitary musing," as Hallam points out; it is too "inarticulate," though it is all music, as Carlyle tells us; it requires too much attention, too much holiness of heart from its readers, as Ruskin observes.

Under such circumstances we can hardly expect the "Paradiso" to be as well known as the "Inferno" or the "Purgatorio." But for those who care to make the trial, for those who are courageous enough to venture into deep water, the third division will always remain the fitting crown of the great trilogy. Together Beatrice and Dante thread the shining spheres. They visit the moon, the heaven of wills imperfect through instability in love; Mercury, the planet assigned to souls imperfect through love of fame, and Venus, the abode of spirits imperfect through excess of human love. In the sun they find doctors of divinity and philosophy; in Mars, warriors, confessors and martyrs grouped in the form of a cross; in Jupiter, rulers eminent for justice arranged in the shape of an eagle; in Saturn, souls that loved retirement and contemplation. Then they pass on to the heaven of the fixed stars, where dwell the Apostles and other saints of the Old and New Testaments. Here Dante takes an examination on Faith, Hope and Charity. At last they reach the Primum Mobile. Then Beatrice leads Dante into the Emyrean and commits him to the care of a venerable old man. The old man proves to be Saint Bernard, who conducts Dante through the Emyrean. There the poet contemplates the brightness of the Divine Majesty and is given a glimpse of the great mystery of the Trinity. Through this vision his will is confirmed in good; henceforth it will be impossible for him to love anything less than infinite

truth, infinite goodness and infinite beauty. "It may not be," he tells us, "that one who looks upon that light can turn to other object willingly his view. For all the good that will may covet, there is summed; and all, elsewhere defective found, complete."

This is, in brief, the outline of the world's greatest poem. There is nothing vague, nothing indefinite about the system of eschatology back of it. It is the system of the Catholic Church—a system that looks upon moral evil as the only real evil in the world. It teaches that the will of man is free; therefore, he is to be held accountable for his acts. Everything must be balanced even to the last farthing. This may seem harsh doctrine, but, as Lowell says, it is no harsher than experience, which always exacts the uttermost; no more inexorable than conscience, which never forgives and never forgets. Those who take evil for their good while here on earth, choose hell; those who fail in part, but not absolutely and irretrievably, must make satisfaction in Purgatory; the perfect are admitted to the celestial Paradise, where they enjoy happiness up to the measure of their capacity. For even in heaven all is gradation, all is justice. Dante had suffered so much from injustice that it must have been a peculiar pleasure for him to construct a universe in which justice should reign triumphant forever—justice for the sinful, justice for the sainted, justice some day for Dante Alighieri.

And yet with all this grim insistence on justice, the "Divine Comedy" is primarily a poem of light and love. It is a real comedy. In the Inferno, of necessity, there is no hope; there the calm radiance of the stars never penetrates. But the symbol of Purgatory is the morning and evening light; heaven is a progress from star to star; increase in bliss is accompanied by increase of light, and increase of light indicates increase of love. Where Plato would say three words—truth, goodness and beauty—Dante says the one word—light. And light means love.

Dean Church in his essay on the "Divina Commedia" has shown how significant and beautiful light was to the sensitive soul of the exiled Florentine. He says: "Light in general is Dante's special and chosen source of poetic beauty. . . . He seems to have dwelt upon it like music. . . . Light everywhere—in the sky and earth and sea; in the star, the flame, the lamp, the gem; broken in the water, reflected from the mirror, transmitted pure through glass, or colored through the edge of the fractured emerald; dimmed in the mist, the halo, the deep water; streaming through the rent cloud, glowing in the coal, quivering in the lightning, flashing in the topaz and ruby, veiled behind the pure alabaster, mellowed and clouding itself in the pearl; light contrasted with shadow, shading off and copying itself in the double rainbow, like voice and echo;

light seen within light, as voice discerned within voice; light in the human eye and face; light blended with joy in the eye, in the smile; light from every source and in all its shapes illuminates, irradiates, gives glory to the 'Commedia.' "

But of all lights starlight seems to have been Dante's predilection, his dominant passion, so to speak. "What," he asks, in a letter declining return to his native city on ignominious terms, "shall I not everywhere enjoy the light of the sun and the stars? And may I not seek and contemplate in every corner of the earth under the canopy of heaven consoling and delightful truth?" What a comfort the shining of the stars must have been to this exiled and passion-swept heart! Not by accident did he end each canticle of his immortal trilogy with the word "stars." He emerges from the "Inferno" to behold the "stars;" he is regenerated in the "Purgatorio" and made "apt for mounting to the stars;" he scales the Empyrean and gazes in rapt awe upon "the love that moves the sun in heaven and all the stars." It would be well for us all, perhaps, if we loved light more, and if, like Dante, we looked oftener at the stars.

There are many who speak of the last century as if it were an age of unfaith, of negation, of ruthless destruction. But the fact is that the nineteenth century was preëminently an age of deep and reverent religious feeling. Its devoutness was as edifying as its boldness was startling. To think out old truths in new terms, to reinterpret the deeper facts of life in the light of broader knowledge, to discern under the dead weight of physical law luminous hints of intelligible purposiveness—surely these are not the by-roads of infidelity, these are neither ways of unwisdom nor paths of peacelessness. The age that produced a Darwin and Spencer gave us also a Tennyson, a Browning and a Newman. Tennyson defends doubt, but stretches out after faith; Browning condemns doubt and deliberately chooses faith; Newman is certain from the beginning of two things—God and his own soul. Tennyson voices the first revolt of the heart against the deductions of modern science; Browning sings a pæan of victory through faith, and Newman, the mystic, may be said to see, to arrive at truth intuitively rather than to believe by an act of the will.

Tennyson's eschatology is complete in "In Memoriam." When Arthur Hallam died in 1833, the poet was suddenly brought face to face with evil in its darkest and most inexplicable form. Stunned by the blow, he felt the need of some sort of a philosophy that would justify the ways of God to man. For seventeen years he groped blindly and struggled bravely with the problems of sin and death. Then in 1850 he gave to the world the history of his battle with the

powers of darkness and called it "In Memoriam." Though the poem is a synthesis of all the science and all the philosophy of an age professedly scientific and philosophic, still it is in no sense a theological treatise. It is a string of lyrics, all light and grace in spite of the heavy theme, a rondeau of hints and intimations, a revelation of mysteries too deep for the symbolization of words. The poet tells us how he sometimes doubts the possibility of clothing such grief as his immeasured language. He says:

I sometimes feel it half a sin
To put in words the grief I feel;
For words, like nature, half reveal
And half conceal the soul within.

But finally he decides to make the trial. He concludes:

In words like weeds I'll weep me o'er,
Like coarsest clothes against the cold;
But that large grief which these unfold
Is given in outline, and no more.

Words are weeds, as Tennyson says, and worse, but back of the outline they make for us we may sometimes trace dimly the philosophy of the soul that utters them.

The first note struck in "In Memoriam" is a note of faith and triumph; the last strain is an epithalamium, a hymn of joy and exultation. Tennyson, like Browning, is an optimist. He believes in the ultimate triumph of good over evil. He trusts that

Somehow good
Will be the final goal of ill,
To pangs of nature, sins of will,
Defects of doubt and taints of blood.

That nothing walks with aimless feet;
That not one life shall be destroyed,
Or cast as rubbish to the void
When God hath made the pile complete.

This is an explicit statement, and yet Tennyson's faith in the final victory of righteousness over iniquity is not an assured thing; rather is it an instinctive need, a hope against hope. Sometimes the vision fails him, and then he writes:

Behold, we know not anything;
I can but trust that good shall fall
At last—far off—at last, to all,
And every winter change to spring.
* * * * *
I stretch lame hands of faith and grope
And gather dust and chaff, and call
To what I feel is Lord of all,
And faintly trust the larger hope.

In this larger hope lies the only possibility of completing the ethical circle. It is this larger hope that inclines Tennyson to a belief in personal immortality. His natural leanings are towards

pantheism; only by a conscious effort does he bring himself to assert that

Eternal form shall still divide
The eternal soul from all beside,
And I shall know him when we meet.

In one division of the poem Arthur's reception into the heavenly courts is described, and we are told how

The great Intelligences fair
That range above our mortal state,
In circles round the blessed gate,
Received and gave him welcome there.

This must mean the persistence of personal identity; it must mean immortality in the Christian sense of the word.

But on another page we read:

Strange friend, past, present and to be,
Loved deeper, darklier understood;
Behold, I dream a dream of good,
And mingle all the world with thee.

And again we read this:

What art thou, then? I cannot guess;
But though I seem in star and flower
To feel thee some diffusive power,
I do not therefore love thee less.

My love involves the love before;
My love is vaster passion now.
Though mixed with God and nature, thou,
I seem to love thee more and more.

Contradictory passages of this sort are to be found all through the poem. Tennyson would have liked to believe in the conservation of personality, but he could never quite succeed in ridding his mind of its obsessions in favor of pantheism. Blended with his half-faith in the Christian's dream of immortality and his hints of a final absorption into the spirit of the universe are stray adumbrations of the Platonic theory of preëxistence. In "The Two Voices" he says:

Moreover, something is or seems
That touches me with mystic gleams,
Like glimpses of forgotten dreams.

Of something felt, like something here,
Of something done, I know not where;
Such as no language may declare.

We may classify Tennyson as a pantheist if we will, but if we do, we should better adopt his own phraseology and call him a "higher pantheist." He believes that man is an emanation from God, but for that very reason responsible and free. In "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After" he counsels his grandson to

Follow Light and do the Right,
For man can half control his doom.

He identifies the human and the divine, and yet in some mysterious way he keeps them separate. In his poem on "The Higher Pantheism" he says:

The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills and the plains,
Are not these, O soul, the vision of Him who reigns?

* * * * *

Speak to Him, thou, for He hears,
And spirit with spirit can meet.
Closer is He than breathing,
And nearer than hands and feet.

This sounds like Saint Paul; it sounds like a very Christian sort of pantheism.

And the fact is that in spite of his evolutionism and his pantheism and even his agnosticism, Tennyson is a Christian. In the prologue to "In Memoriam" he gives us his confession of faith in Christ. He says:

Thou seemest human and divine,
The highest, holiest manhood, thou.
Our wills are ours, we know not how;
Our wills are ours to make them thine.

As we read the prologue and reread it, for the prologue is the immortal part of this immortal elegy, we forget the cries of anguish and despair, the falterings and misgivings of the seventeen years of heartbreak that gave it birth, and remember only the retractation of those errors, the plea for pardon, the admission that in the end God's ways are best.

Of the life after death Tennyson holds that there is but one state, and that the Paradiso. He would not admit a hell, or place of everlasting punishment, and the idea of progress or purification in another world does not seem to have appealed to him. In 1881 he published in the *Nineteenth Century* some stanzas under the title "Despair," with the following preface: "A man and his wife having lost faith in a God and hope of a life to come, and being utterly miserable in this, resolve to end themselves by drowning. The woman is drowned, but the man rescued by a minister of the sect he had abandoned." The poem opens in an abrupt Browningesque manner:

Is it you that preached in the chapel there looking over the sand?
Followed us, too, that night and dogg'd us and dre me to land?

The minister tries to calm the rescued man and urges him to pray, to call upon the Christian God, the God of love. The man replies:

What, I should call on that Infinite Love that has served us so well?
Infinite cruelty rather that made everlasting hell;
Made us, foreknew us, foredoomed us, and does what he will with his own.
Better our dead brute mother who never has heard us groan.

The minister, appalled, shudders at this blasphemous outbreak. But the man retorts:

Blasphemy, true! I have scared you pale with my scandalous talk;
But the blasphemy, to my mind, lies all in the way that you walk.

We may take these words as the embodiment of the poet's own view of the matter. Tennyson was a restorationist; he believed in universal salvation. He liked to think that some day even Lucifer himself would be converted; that some day the last trace of evil and discord in the universe would vanish, dissolved in the light of everlasting love and infinite mercy.

It is never easy to state in prose what a philosopher has implied in poetry, but perhaps we shall not be far from the truth if we say in summarizing Tennyson that he is an optimist, a believer in progress in the evolutionary sense; that he holds moral and physical evil to be mere incidents in the progress of the race upwards; that he assumes that man is responsible for his conduct, at least to some extent; that he is certain of immortality of some sort; that he looks upon nature as a symbol and partial revelation of God and upon Christ as the Divine Word, intelligible and complete. He believes that love is derived from God and is immortal, and on the persistence of love he bases his faith in the ultimate triumph of good in the universe.

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Browning, like Tennyson, has faith that God is love as well as power. In "Paracelsus" he says:

God, thou art love!
I build my faith on that.

Like Tennyson, he is an optimist. In "Abt Vogler" we read:

There shall never be one lost good; what was shall live as before.
The evil is null, is naught, is silence implying sound.
What was good shall be good, with for evil so much more.
On the earth, the broken arc; in the heaven, a perfect round.

Like Tennyson, he is an evolutionist; but he never forgets that evolution is only the name of a process; that though all things change, God and the soul stand sure. Rabbi Ben Ezra assures us that

All that is at all
Lasts ever past recall.
Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure:
What entered into thee
That was, is and shall be.
Time's wheel runs back or stops;
Potter and clay endure.

But this is as far as his resemblance to Tennyson extends. There is nothing faint about his trust in the larger hope. There is no shadow of doubt, no hesitation, no half-acceptances in his "Credo." He has nothing in common with that tent-maker of the twelfth

century who wrote of earth while he gazed at the stars in Naishapur. Omar sighs:

Ah, love, could you and I with Him conspire
To grasp this sorry scheme of things entire,
Would not we shatter it to bits, and then
Remould it nearer to the heart's desire?

Browning finds nothing sorry in the scheme of things; he takes life as it comes and proclaims it good. God is a poet and creation His poetry, he tells us in "Paracelsus." And in "Apparent Failure" he writes:

What began best can't end worst,
Nor what God blest once prove accurst.

It is hardly necessary to say that Browning believes in personal immortality. He is the poet of the human soul. Thoughts, not events; men, not nature, appeal to him. "Sordello," the least understood, is probably the most representative of his poems. It is the story of the development of a soul—the soul of a poet. "Mind is not matter, nor from matter, but above," the Pope says in "The Ring and the Book."

What's time? Leave now for dogs and apes—
Man has forever,

the pall-bearers quote from the dead grammarian as they toil up the mountain slope with his lifeless remains. An eternity of progress, an everlasting Purgatory, is Browning's idea of the here-after. For Tennyson the life after death is all Paradise; for Browning it is all Purgatory. Not attainment, but struggle; not absorption into some Nirvana of repose; not persistence as part of the power that makes for righteousness; not a shadowy, Ossianic existence as a form through which the stars dim-twinkle; but life, full and conscious, with will firm, memory clear and intellect keen and vigorous.

"There is no rest like the weariness that comes of seeking after God," Faber tells us, and it may be that the human heart could be satisfied by unending struggle for an unattainable good. But out of this theory of the life after death comes a theodicy as unsatisfactory as it is untrue. Browning holds that evil is an essential factor in human progress; that it is a necessary result of man's finite being. He looks upon moral failure as the blindness of inexperience, the ignorance that puts its finger into the fire, the darkness that makes the light seem brighter. Sin, according to his theory, is holiness in the germ. He says as much in "The Statue and the Bust:"

Oh, a sin will do
As well, I reply, to serve you for a test,
As a virtue golden thro' and thro';
Sufficient to vindicate itself,
And prove its worth at a moment's view.

And in "Pippa Passes" we read:

All service ranks the same with God—
With God whose puppets, best and worst,
Are we; there is no last or first.

Browning's optimism appears to be built on the thesis that all things are good; whereas the orthodox Christian's optimism flows from the conviction that, in spite of evil, all things work together for good. It is always an unwisdom to confuse good and evil; it is always a loss to let down the barriers that separate right from wrong.

In vain we call old notions fudge,
And bind our conscience to our dealing;
The Ten Commandments will not budge,
And stealing will continue stealing.

It is not likely, however, that the heterodoxy of Browning's teodicy will work any serious harm; while it is certain that his orthodoxy will always be an inspiration and an upward leading. He came at a time when he was sorely needed, and not a minute too soon. The serene paganism of Goethe and the volcanic infidelity of the Higher Critics were working together to destroy such vestiges of the ancient faith as had survived the Lutheran revolt of the sixteenth century. Culture instead of Christianity; art and beauty, instead of the Gospel; life here on earth and self-realization in a narrow sense—these were the doctrines preached by scientist and philosopher, by essayist and poet. Then came Browning bearing the Cross as his standard and acknowledging Christ as his Captain. In "Pauline," his first poem, he addresses Christ thus:

O thou pale form, so dimly seen, deep-eyed,
I have denied thee calmly. But do I not
Pant when I read of thy consummate deeds,
And burn to see thy calm, pure truths outflash
The brightest gleams of earth's philosophy?
Do I not shake to hear aught question thee?
If I am erring, save me, madden me;
Take from me powers and pleasures; let me die
Ages, so I see thee!

This vision of Christ grew upon Browning with the years, and his faith increased as the vision waxed clearer, until at last he could say:

The acknowledgment of God in Christ,
Accepted by thy reason, solves for thee
All questions in the world and out of it,
And hath so far advanced thee to be wise.

Browning recognizes the difficulties of belief, but he insists that the difficulties of unbelief are greater. He has no scorn for honest doubt, though he pushes the burden of proof back upon the doubter. He paraphrases Tennyson when he says in "Rabbi Ben Ezra:"

Rather I prize the doubt
Low kinds exist without,
Finished and finite clods, untroubled by a spark.

But few hearts are so dark that they never have moments of sky-

clearing; few lives so evil that no golden strands are woven into their coarse fabrics. And so the poet argues:

Oh, we're sunk enough, God knows;
But not quite so sunk that moments,
Sure, though seldom, are denied us
When the spirit's true endowments
Stand out plainly from its false ones,
And apprise it, if pursuing,
Or the right way, or the wrong way.

The right way is the way of faith, and the wrong way is the way of unfaith. Moral probability may be stronger confirmation than scientific demonstration. Browning is satisfied, he says,

So long as there be just enough
To pin my faith to, though it hap
Only at points; from gap to gap,
One hangs up a huge curtain so,
Grandly, nor seeks to have it go
Foldless and flat along the wall.
What care I if some interval
Of life less plainly may depend
On God? I'd hang there to the end.

As we should expect, Browning assumes the freedom of the will and holds man accountable for his choices, and yet he intimates that the potter, too, is responsible for the bent taken by the clay. Addressing the Moulder of men, he prays:

So take and use thy work:
Amend what flaws may lurk,
What strains o' the stuff, what warpings past thy aim.

But in spite of this he does not counsel passivity or quietism. We must work with God, he tells us. In "Ferishtah's Fancies," a string of philosophic fables, he embodies this truth in the parable called "The Eagle." Ferishtah was walking in the woods one day when he noted on a bough a raven's nest. The younglings were dying of hunger, while the mother bird lay dead beneath the tree. Ferishtah paused, saddened by the sight. Suddenly an eagle swooped downward with some flesh in his talons, fed the fledgelings and resought the sky.

"Oh, foolish, faithless one!" the observer smiled,
"Who toil and moil to eke out life, when, lo!
Providence cares for every hungry mouth."

Ferishtah took the lesson to heart and went home under the impression that effort on man's part is unnecessary. For days he sat and mused, until he grew faint with thirst and hunger. Then sleep overtook him, and in a dream God admonished him:

Hast thou marked my deed?
Which part assigned by Providence dost judge
Was meant for man's example? Should he play
The helpless weakling or the helpful strength
That captures prey and saves the perishing?
Sluggard, arise: work, eat, then feed who lack.

Ferishtah awakens and decides to set out for Ispahan, there to work out his salvation.

This is about as far as one brief study of the eschatology of

Browning can go. He was a believer in personal immortality and in the freedom of the human will; a purgatorian in his view of the life after death, and a Christian in his attitude to revelation and to the meaning of life generally. He was, as he said himself,

One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward;
Never doubted clouds would break;
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph;
Held we rise to fall, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.

One evening just before his death the poet was reading this from a proof to his daughter-in-law and sister. He said: "It almost looks like bragging to say this, and perhaps I ought to cancel it; but it's the simple truth, and as it's true, it shall stand."

For the motto on his Cardinal's shield Newman adopted a sentence from St. Francis de Sales' letters: "*Cor ad cor loquitur*," which is generally translated, "Heart speaketh unto heart." But perhaps we should come nearer to Newman's meaning if we translated it, "Soul speaketh unto soul." There were just two luminous points in the universe of the great Tractarian—one was God, the other the human soul. Now a soul is a very lonely thing when we stop to think about it. God and perhaps the angels—these are the only beings that ever cross its sanctuary. And they never intrude. They never come in, so to speak, unless they have been invited. Newman was particularly impressed by this fact of the solitariness of our spiritual lives. His own life must have been a singularly isolated one. And yet he understood men; he had sounded their souls to a weird and shaking depth. Has he not told us, as he says himself, much that we knew about ourselves and much that we did not know?

Take that passage in the "Apologia" where he speaks of the basis of his belief in God. He says: "Starting, then, with the being of God (which, as I have said, is as certain to me as my own existence, though when I try to put the grounds of that certainty into logical shape, I find a difficulty in doing so in mood and figure to my satisfaction), I look out of myself into the world of men, and there I see a sight which fills me with unspeakable distress. The world seems simply to give the lie to that great truth of which my whole being is so full, and the effect upon me is in consequence, as a matter of necessity, as confusing as if it denied that I am in existence. If I looked into a mirror and did not see my face, I should have the sort of feeling which actually comes upon me when I look into this living world and see no reflection of the Creator." There is something almost uncanny about that sentence, "If I looked into a mirror and did not see my face." It tells us much that we knew, and implies more that we did not know.

In 1865, on the death of a dear friend, Newman wrote "The Dream of Gerontius," a dramatic lyric portraying the experiences of the soul in the life to come. The poem opens with Gerontius on his deathbed. His friends are praying for him, the priest is administering the last sacraments. Gerontius dies. In company with his guardian angel he seeks the throne of Christ. He hears the shrieks of demons, the prayers of the earthly friends he has left behind and choruses of angel voices. At last he reaches the great white throne and looks upon the white sanctity of the Crucified. He gazes for a moment upon the Love that moves the universe and then falls prostrate, overcome by an ecstasy. Then he turns away and says to his guardian angel:

Take me away, and in the lowest deep there let me be,
And there in hope the lone night watches keep
Told out for me.

The angel conducts Gerontius to Purgatory. The gates of the golden prison swing open. The penitent spirits are chanting, "Before the hills were born, and the world was, from age to age, Thou art God." The soul of Gerontius sinks into the purifying flames, while the angel speaks these words of comfort:

Masses on the earth and prayers in heaven
Shall aid thee at the throne of the Most High.
Farewell, but not forever, brother dear;
Be brave and patient on thy bed of sorrow.
Swiftly shall pass thy night of trial here,
And I will come and wake thee on the morrow.

This is "The Dream" in brief. It contains the whole system of Newman's eschatology. The soul of Gerontius is hardly disembodied when the sense-world disappears. Place loses its significance; there is no here or there. Sounds may be tasted and tastes heard. The demons make a "sour dissonance." It was easy for Newman to imagine other worlds than ours. He conceived nature mystically as a medium through which the angels worked out the thoughts of God. Of these radiant spirits he says: "Every breath of air and ray of light and heat, every beautiful prospect is, as it were, the skirts of their garments, the waving of the robes of those whose faces see God." Again, he says: "What would be thoughts of a man who, when examining a flower or a herb or a pebble or a ray of light, which he treats as so beneath him in the scale of existence, suddenly discovered that he was in the presence of some powerful being who was hidden behind the visible things he was inspecting, who, though concealing His wise hand, was giving them their beauty, grace and perfection, as being God's instrument for the purpose; nay, whose robe and ornaments those objects were, which he was so eager to analyze?"

This view of the angels as the movers of the physical frame of

the universe is sanctioned by the Bible as well as by the early Fathers and tradition. Maimonides is quoted by St. Thomas as holding that the Scriptures frequently term the powers of nature angels. Science and its so-called laws resolves itself for Newman into angelology and a study of the ways of angels. Angels meet Gerontius on his entrance into the spirit-world; angels lead him to the judgment-seat; an angel conducts him to Purgatory and assures him that his time of suffering will not be long. And finally, in the concluding stanza of "Lead, Kindly Light," that wonderful description of the homecoming of a world-weary soul, we read that,

With the morn those angel-faces smile
Which I have loved long since and lost a while.

Nature as a symbol, almost what we might call a sacramental—this is Newman's idea. His cosmology is a sort of a compound of Platonism with the romanticism of the early decades of the nineteenth century. Newman had very little sympathy with Aristotelianism, and even less with scholasticism. Many of the newer books on philosophy are emphasizing the points of unity between Aristotle and Aristocles. But the fact is that they are separated by whole universes. "*First we know a thing. Then we study and analyze it, until we come at last to love it.*" That is Aristotle. "*First we love a thing. Then, because we love it, we study it and analyze it, and come at last to know it.*" That is Plato. Newman forms a link in the chain of the Aristoclean tradition in the Church. Platonism is as congenial a soil for Catholicity as Aristotelianism. Indeed, a thesis might easily be elaborated in support of the theory that the Church has been most deeply spiritual, most conscious of her divine mission during her Aristoclean periods. It might not be difficult to prove that one of the principal causes of the pseudo-reformation was too much Aristotle.

The eschatology of Newman, like that of Dante, is the eschatology of the Catholic Church. Sin is regarded as the greatest of evils, death as the beginning of a new life, the future as dependent upon our free choice of good or evil here on earth. The Inferno is only echoed in this beautiful dream, but Purgatory and Paradise are described in detail. And over the whole there is a softness and a tenderness that we never find in Dante. Newman is all sweetness and light. Perhaps this is due to the increased devotion to the Blessed Sacrament in our day, perhaps to a deeper personal love for Christ. Perhaps the spread of devotion to the Sacred Heart accounts for the added note of humanization. It is the heart, after all, that understands, not the head.

Ex umbris et imaginibus in veritatem.

M. A. DUNNE.

SOME GREAT RED SPOTS IN PARIS.

THE French capital of to-day is most frequently spoken of as "the gay city." From a Christian point of view it is more deserving of the title "the martyrs' city." Many portions of it are entitled to the appellation of "the holy ground." The highest part of the environs does, in fact, bear the designation that stamps the locality as sacred for all time—Montmartre. There the first "seed of the Church" was spilt upon the soil that was soon to furnish testimony in abundance, from that early sacrifice down almost to our own very day. There is more than one "Moulin Rouge" in gay Paris, from a Christian point of view: there are in fact many famous ones, whose soil and floors were reddened more than once with the lifeblood of holy men and women whose solitary crime against man was that they toiled and prayed and taught and dreamed solely that they might serve God by serving His creatures and save souls for Him. One of the most notable of these sanctified spots is the old building and enclosure once the home of the Carmelite nuns, which stand on the Rue Vaugirard, hard by the great Church of St. Sulpice and the old Palace of the Luxembourg. The building is, or was some years ago, numbered 70 on the street, and was acquired within our own times by the Catholic University as an auxiliary or annex. What is its present status, since the beginning of the new Kulturkampf, it is difficult to pronounce. Not far from the old Carmelite building stands the Abbey Church of St. Germain-des-Prés, which had in old times a strong prison attached to its domain. This prison and the Carmelite Convent were in 1792 the theatres of the most sickening of the massacres perpetrated by order of the Directory and the Commune. The Churches of St. Geneviève, of St. Eustache, of St. Jacques de la Boucherie, of St. Etienne du Mont—all these and many more—have had each their baptisms of blood and fire in their day. But, most dismal memory of all, only a few miles outside the city wall stands the Abbey of St. Denis, the Westminster Abbey of Paris, where was witnessed the apotheosis of the twin sisters, Rapine and Murder, when her votaries broke the tombs of the dead Kings and Queens of France from the time of Dagobert, its founder, down to the outbreak of the Revolution, and scattered their dust and bones.

Paris—modern Paris—lies at the foot of the hill which dominated the older city—the Lutetia of pre-Roman times. This hill was the scene of the martyrdom of St. Geneviève. She is the patroness of the city, and she foretold the coming, in a far later age, of one who is now near-saint, like herself—the Maid of Orleans. The patroness

of Paris, like Joan of Arc, was a country girl, at times playing the part of shepherdess as Joan used to do when necessary. The old Church of St. Geneviève was erected by King Clovis, at the solicitation of his Queen and the saint; and he gave it the title to the honor of Saint Peter and Saint Paul; but when St. Geneviève died, A. D. 512, her remains were buried within the enclosure and the church was dedicated to her honor. Clovis himself died a year previously, and was also laid in the same consecrated ground. The church was elevated into an abbey in later years, but it fell into ruin during the troubled centuries that intervened between the Frankish rule and that of the Capets and Bourbons. It was rebuilt by Louis XV., but the edifice was seized later on by the revolutionists and transformed into the National Pantheon. The Pantheon and its environs was the centre of the fiercest fighting in the revolution of June, 1849, and therefore it may well be regarded as one of the reddest spots in the city. The insurgents broke into the church and barricaded themselves there so strongly that cannon had to be employed to break open the doors, and blood drenched the floors of the sacred edifice and flowed in the gutters of the adjoining streets.

St. Geneviève's was by many connoisseurs regarded as the most beautiful of all the Parisian churches, not even excepting the famous Notre Dame. Its dome, visible from every part of the city, like that of the Invalides, is strikingly elegant and at the same time majestic, because of its classic simplicity. While the proud rotund of the Invalides glitters in royal gilding, that of the temple of St. Geneviève was "simplex munditiis," as became the memorial of a shepherdess and a virgin who laid down her life for the honor of God and the Blessed Virgin. It is unlike the grand dome of Angelo, that seems to swim in the enchanted atmosphere above the Tiber, since it raises itself by three tiers to the lanterns, above which is poised the ball, representing the world, and the cross, the emblem of its Redeemer. The body of the building is cruciform, and each limb of the cross is terminated by a fine pediment, approached by a noble flight of low steps. It would be difficult to find a more impressive portico than that which confronts the visitor. It stretches over a space of 129 feet, in its simple Greek lines and moulding, supported by a range of six Corinthian pillars, 60 feet in height. The sculptures within the angle of the pediment are by David. They represent France distributing honors to her greatest men—according to the conception of the artist, who did not hesitate to include himself among the worthies. The rule of classification was by no means regarded in the design, since side by side we behold the effigies of Fénélon and Voltaire, Mirabeau and Lafayette, Carnot (organizer of victory) and Rousseau (disorganizer of "the social contract"),

Napoleon and the painter David! The figure of France in the centre is colossal, standing fifteen feet in height, while the figures of her great men are *in crescendo*, graded to suit the lines of the long triangle. From the pavement of the building to the centre of the dome a tape line would show a stretch of 268 feet. The unreflecting visitor would think the stretch would be much more, if perchance he had been, as the present writer was, after a journey up the stairs of St. Paul's dome, in London, and a peep through the circular aperture in "the whispering gallery" which shows the pavement in Sir Christopher Wren's edifice at a depth of 275 under the eye. The St. Paul's dome is immensely greater in diameter in proportion to the dimensions of the cruciform building beneath, and rises into the empyrean 160 feet higher than that of St. Geneviève's. There is, perhaps, no more deceptive employment in life than that of studying illusions related to space and height. The stranger beholding the pile of St. Geneviève for the first time, after having seen St. Paul's, with its much ampler environment, diffusing its lines in atmosphere, might easily be led into the impression that Soufflot, its architect, had done better for Paris and Louis XV. than Wren had for London and Charles II.

It is pitiable to behold St. Geneviève's in its present state—as so many of the temples once consecrated to God in the Catholic land of France now are. When the present writer last saw it, a band of Cook's tourists had just got inside. They were from England. Not one of them took off his hat. They spoke in the loudest key, in the most h-regardless Cockney English, interrogating the official cicerone about this painting or that piece of sculpture, and behaving with no more respect for a sacred building than a mob of Parisian *sansculottes*. They were all well dressed, but this was the only point of demarcation between them and the French gutter rabble outside.

In the vaults of the oft-desecrated church there is no little incongruity in occupancy. The remains of Voltaire and Rousseau were at one time to be found there, but now they are replaced by cenotaphs, while Père la Chaise holds the celebrated dust. The tablet over Voltaire shows some curiosities in epitaph construction—for instance, this strange record, amongst others: "Il combattit les athées et les fanatiques, inspira la tolérance, et réclama les droits de l'homme contre la servitude de la féodalité." Over Rousseau's vault something equally imaginary was graven: "Ici repose l'homme de la nature et de la vérité." Mirabeau was also laid to rest in the same vault, but the fickle revolutionary mob, whose cause he had often so eloquently pleaded, tore open his resting place, when they found he was laid there, and carted them off, none knew whither. Here, too, were laid the skin and bones of the wretch Marat; for a while only,

however, for when it was discovered that he had been brought to such unfit soil his carcass was dragged out and flung to rot in the public sewer.

In the old parish Church of St. Geneviève, which preceded the modern building, there was preserved a bronze urn which contained, it was believed, the ashes of the saint. This urn was the object of great veneration prior to the desecration of the new church. It may be in existence still; some pious hand may have secretly carried it off to a place of safety during the revolutionary epoch. But nothing has been mentioned in connection with it for very many years. And yet there is as much reverence for Saint Geneviève still as ever there was before, there can hardly be any doubt.

Sitting one lovely summer's day, under the shade of the trees in the Place de St. Sulpice, the beneficence which the mad revolutionists had so brutally spurned was recalled to the writer's mind by a little incident, startling in its way for a Sunday, but not uncommon. Only a little way across the Place lay the Rue Vaugirard, and above the high wall of No. 70 could be discerned the windows of the Carmelite Convent, which has so tragic an interest for Catholics. At this convent were to be had at all times the famous curative liquids called "eau de mélisse" and "eau des Carmes." That the latter was wonderfully efficacious in certain maladies the writer can vouch from a personal experience, shortly after the occurrence now about to be related. It was while waiting for the great bell of St. Sulpice to give the signal for the beginning of the High Mass that a lady was seen to fall from one of the seats under the trees, prone to the pavement, in a fit. The day was oppressively hot, and it was too much for the lady, who was evidently by no means robust. A gendarme who was on duty on the Place was quickly by her side, and he proceeded very quickly but methodically to attend to the case himself. He carried, as all such guardians of the public do in France, a little pouch or box attached to his waist belt, and from this he produced a phial and a small lump of sugar. A few drops of liquid he poured over the sugar, and opening the lady's mouth very tenderly, placed it on her tongue. She soon revived and was enabled to resume her seat, to the great relief of a little sympathetic crowd who had been interested spectators of the scene. The police of Paris know the virtues of the liqueurs which places like the Carmelite Convent were in the habit of keeping for the benefit of the poor; and here was an illustration of them quite unexpected.

Little is there in the appearance of the venerable building to indicate a tragic history. Nothing could be more peaceful in atmosphere than the quaint secluded locality where it stands. Close to it was an ancient cloister belonging to an earlier order, that of "Les

Filles du Calvaire." It was in the year 1611 that the Reformed Carmelites took up their first quarters in Paris; the older kind had been there long before that date. The first house they occupied proved too small, and two years later the foundation stone of the present building was laid by Queen Marie de Médicis. It was dedicated to St. Joseph, and the first one in France to be so signalized. The friars who ministered in its chapel were noted for their austerity and devotion; and their labors were productive of much edification and benefit among the surrounding population. All this reign of piety and blessing was destined to be rudely checked in the height of its usefulness. The year 1789 brought a mighty change in the fortunes of the peaceful Carmelites.

Among the many illustrious ladies who entered the Carmelite order, that of the beautiful but most unfortunate Louise de la Valliere, Duchess and King's favorite for a brief while, is the most noteworthy. As Sister Louise de la Misericorde, she expiated her sin by performing the most menial duties in the convent, and edifying all the community by the sublimity of her self-imposed penitence—a veritable modern Magdalen, whom neither the entreaties nor the commands of her royal admirer could turn from her purpose of expiating her folly by the extremest self-abasement.

When first the breath of revolution began gently to stir the atmosphere the Carmelites were lulled into a false security. Like many other religious they had been led into a sentiment of sympathy with the movement for popular emancipation and civic reform. They gave the use of their buildings for the holding of public meetings, and when the popular force called the National Guard was being organized they made a free gift of a portion of their ground to the reformers for the purpose of having a barrack built thereupon. It was not long, however, ere they found what sort of a serpent it was whom they were thus warming into life. The first intimation of ingratitude came in the shape of a decree abolishing religious vows, in 1790; in the following year came a new one confiscating the property of religious communities, and then another ordering their expulsion from their convents and monasteries before October, 1793. Simultaneously with these drastic measures a fierce persecution of the secular clergy was inaugurated. Under the "Constitution Civile du Clerge" it was ordained that the Pope's spiritual authority was no longer to be recognized, and that Bishops, priests and *curés* were to be elected by the people and should swear fealty to the nation and the constitution, as well as to the national sovereign. This law the Pope condemned as sacrilegious and schismatical, and pronounced those who had subscribed to it as schismatics, unless they retracted. This was the beginning of a war in which the combatants

were all on one side, the other having no defense but their prayers and their patient courage. Henceforth exile, imprisonment and finally death became the portion of God's anointed throughout the length and breadth of France.

On the 11th of August, 1793, fifty ecclesiastics, Archbishops, Bishops and priests, were brought under guard to the "Carmes" and locked up, as prisoners, in the church. They included the Archbishop of Arles, Mgr. Du Lau; the Bishop of Beauvais and the Bishop of Saintes, brothers, belonging to the illustrious house of Rochefaucauld Maumont. Among the priests and abbés were some of the most eminent names in France. There were eleven vicars general, eleven ex-Jesuits, eight members of various other orders, twelve *curés* and thirteen Sulpicians. There was a large number of others, young seminarists, aged priests from a house of rest for such, several chaplains, some professors and one military officer, Count Valfonds. He had accompanied his friend, the Abbé Guilleminot, Vicar of St. Roch, when he was arrested, and would not leave his friend when the hour of danger came, although he had been given an opportunity of doing so—for it had become privately known that a general massacre of the clergy was resolved on by Danton, after the news of the fall of Longwy before the Prussian batteries had come in, as a means of rousing the Parisian "patriots" to the desired delirium for the blood of the foreign invader by copious draughts of that of the domestic enemy, as the clergy were now held up to be—and have been ever since—in their own country, their beloved France! All the company, prelates, priests and professors, had more than a presentiment—they had a conviction—when the prison doors closed on them, that their day of doom was approaching, but every one of them was cheerful—so much so that they astonished their jailors. Their last midday meals was the most jovial of any, it was remarked by the few survivors who escaped to tell the story.

September 2d was a Sunday. About four of the clock on that day the three prelates and the priests were out in the garden of the convent for their usual recreation—and this was the recitation of Vespers and the reading of their Office. They heard shouting and singing and the tolling of bells outside the convent, and they knew that their hour was come, so they knelt down under the trees, and gave each other the last absolution. Armed men who had been lurking about the convent rushed in among them and began the work of slaughter, beginning with the Archbishop of Arles. His head was cut open by a sabre stroke. His murderer plucked the prelate's watch from his pocket as he lay dying, and waved it exultingly about his head as a glorious spoil of war. A number of the priests were kneeling in the little chapel in the garden; the murderers began

firing on them, and they fell rapidly one by one. Outside other priests were being shot or stabbed by pikes. As the work of blood proceeded, a ruffian called Maillard, who had organized the *battue*, appeared on the scene and called a halt, demanding that some sort of order should be observed. He led the gang toward the church, and there, sitting at a table, he had a form of trial gone through in regard to the survivors. The Bishops of Beauvais and Saintes were asked to take the oath to the new constitution for the clergy, which the Pope had condemned as schismatical. They refused. Then the priests were severally asked the same question. It was intimated to all that life and liberty were assured them if they complied. This offer did not shake their determination. Then, two by two, they were sent down a narrow stairway, at the foot of which stood waiting the assassins who had been employed and drilled for their ghastly work by Maillard and his accomplices in the plot. As there were over a hundred victims to be dealt with, the horrid work of butchery occupied more than two hours. The assassins were hired and paid by Maillard.

Simultaneously, both at the Abbey of St. Germain and the Conceirgerie, Marat and Varennes were personally directing similar butcheries. The old abbey prison was choked with prisoners, clerical and lay, on that awful day in September, for Danton had determined to retaliate on the Prussians for the loss of Longwy and their march on Paris to help the aristocrats by flinging their dead bodies in their faces, so to speak. One thousand and eighty-nine "aristocrats" were penned in the Paris prisons that day, and these were all "thinned out" before night fell. The greater part of these were piled in a bloody heap in front of the gates of the abbey prison. The victims had been given the formality of a mock trial before Maillard, as in the case of the Bishops and clergy in "*Les Carmes*," and then thrust one by one outside the gates to be piked by the blood-thirsty mob, who were goaded on to their ghastly work all day, until it was thoroughly done by Marat and Varennes. At the Conceirgerie there were two hundred and eighty-eight "aristocrats." These shared in the doom of the others on that famous "red-letter" day of the Revolution. Danton's gratification at the performance was that of an infernal demigod. No wonder he said when mounting from the tumbril to the guillotine, seven months after these massacres: "Executioner, when you have cut off my head, please show it to the people. It is a head worth looking at."

Surely only a demigod of revolution could think of carrying his overmastering passion of vanity beyond the grave. "He had many sins," remarks the grim satirist, Carlyle, "but one worst sin he had not—that of cant." Egotists of his high plane are incapable of cant;

they are made sincere by conviction of their own greatness and need not stoop to find flattery from admirers who live in fear of them.

From the portals of the same gruesome Conciergerie passed, only a few weeks later, to the same red bourne of death, the lofty Queen martyr, Marie Antoinette. M. de Lamartine, in his "*Histoire des Girondius*," declares that the story told by a picture in the chapel of the palace which adjoins the prison is false. The Queen is there represented as receiving the sacrament from the hands of a priest. She refused the sacrament, says the distinguished historian, because the only priest who would be permitted to see her in her last hours was one of those who had taken the oath of the Republic; and with such the steadfast Catholic lady would have no communication.

Within the confines of the Conciergerie were immured many other noble prisoners, both before and during the Revolution. The sweet and saintly Madame Elizabeth, sister of King Louis XVI., occupied a gloomy dungeon of the building before her execution. Madame Roland was also an inmate ere she was despatched to the shambles. The other Girondins were allowed to hold their memorable supper in the chapel of the building the night before they were sent to their doom. Several other notables were guests of the jailor of that grim hotel, as the scramble for power fluctuated during the Reign of Terror. Bailly, Malashèrbes, Danton, and then the aspiring chief who had sent Danton there, Robespierre himself, and the companions who had stood by him in the last fight for power, came to close the horrid drama with the awesome touch of poetical retribution: "They who take the sword shall perish by the sword." Those who invoked the aid of the guillotine for the readjustment of human society all to the guillotine were sent in turn.

A gloomy and repulsive pile of stone and iron is the Conciergerie—quite as much so as the Tower of London, and with a record no less ghastly. Its sombre towers with their pointed leaden roofs cause the wayfarer involuntarily to shudder, if he know anything of the long tragic history of that frowning pile of masonry which darkens the gay river that flows beside its walls. Paris is described by one of the most elegant French writers as a city of white and black. There is a city of dark mud—the old *Lutetia*, or *Luteum* (mud), and the white city that grew up beside it—the *Leukotakia* of Strabo—the modern city that lies at the foot of Montmartre and stretches majestically away to the banks of the Seine. Under its white robe this city conceals another one whose color is blood red. And over the graves of thousands whose gore made it ruddy, and whose bones were flung into vast fosses undistinguished, promiscuous and with savage contempt, millions of gay Parisians have played and romped and danced with a glee that at times became satyric,

at midnight, in the dance halls and the cafés. Beside the Gothic pile of St. Denis, grand and gloomy from age and weather stains, lies the Ile St. Denis, a garden of mere *abandon*—a place of unbridled pleasure—a miniature Coney Island, in fact, where men and women go to flirt and drink and dissipate with other men's and women's wives and husbands. The contrast between what the Abbey of St. Denis stands for and what the Ile de St. Denis really is seems somewhat like the juxtaposition of the Pagan Paphos with the Christian Catacombs. Garlanded, cachinnating Sensuality, vine-crowned, on the island; dusty and mouldering relics of vanished greatness and sanctity, the awful silence of the tomb, on the shore close beside it. A startling contrast, truly, but not more violent or shocking than that presented in the long phantasmagoria of Parisian history, from the age of the Merovingian Kings down to the days of the Commune of 1870.

Although the story of the desecration of St. Denis is not reeking with blood like the story of many another sacred building in Paris proper, it is one infinitely more horrible. It is a story of human ghouliness without parallel in earth's annals. St. Denis was the city of the royal dead—the sainted, the illustrious, the honored, of many centuries. St. Geneviève, King Dagobert, King Pepin, Charlemagne the Emperor, these were the founders of the glorious Abbey Church. Nothing more stately, more delicately beautiful was ever raised than this great Gothic temple. In its vaults slept Dagobert, Pepin and his wife Bertha; to these vaults Philip the Hardy brought the bones of his father, St. Louis, on his shoulders, walking barefoot all the way from the city of Paris to lay the sacred remains in the tomb. Clovis II., Charles Martel, Philip the Hardy, Philip the Fair had statues or cenotaphs in the royal mausoleum. The earlier Capets, Eudes, Hugo and Robert, were among the tenants of these old vaults or had their effigies amongst those majestic clustered columns soaring airily to the lofty groined roof. Constance of Arles, Constance of Castille, Hermintrude, Jane d'Gorreux, Margaret of Provence, wife of St. Louis; Marie de Brabant, Jane de Bourbon, Isabel de Baviere, Catherine de Medicis, beside many children of those royal people, slept there, until the ghouls of the Revolution disturbed their quiet rest.

Besides these noble and famous Queens and Princesses there were many Kings and Princes of the Middle Age and the Renaissance period, as well as gallant knights—not of royal rank, but even higher in esteem because of their deeds of chivalry and daring—Bertrand Duguesclin and the great Turenne, for example. There also reposed the good King Louis XII., who was proud to be styled the father of his people; there also lay in magnificent state the

magnificent sovereign, Francis I., knight as well as monarch. There also reposed the Grand Monarque, Louis XIV., as well as his father, Louis "the Just," and his Queen, the haughty Anne of Austria. All these tombs, and many more, were ruthlessly torn open by the vile and bloodstained hands of a brutal mob, and the bodies that were in the caskets inside dragged out like so much rubbish. The sanctuary contained many venerated relics, the bones of St. Merin and other holy men. These were flung into the dust heaps, like those of the royalties. There was a piece of the Cross; there was the head of St. Denis the martyr—he who is believed to have carried it in his hands after it had been chopped off his body, and brought it to the place where the Abbey stood. There was the royal cloak of St. Louis; and there were the chain and crown and sceptre of Charlemagne. All these and many more precious and hallowed memorials of saint and sage, of artist and of scholar, beautiful illuminated vellums over which saintly hands had lovingly toiled many and many a night in convent cells—all were polluted by the carrion touch of the ghouls and vultures who, by order of the Convention, swooped down upon the Abbey Church in 1793 and melted down the lead of the coffins, that they might have bullets to carry on the war against royalty and aristocracy, Church and God!

History records no precedent for that stupendous infamy. Even Attila would not think of perpetrating it, with such a motive. He, barbarian as he was, believed in God in his own rude way, for did he not ferociously pride himself on being called "the scourge of God." Yes, yes; Attila, the monstrous Hun, was an angel of gentleness and piety as compared with the foul harpies of the Convention who decreed the desecration of the glorious Abbey of St. Denis, the martyr and patron of the French nation.

During the war against the Commune of 1870 the churches of Paris were again desecrated by the fighting mobs. The Madeleine was the scene of sanguinary warfare, and the graveyard about the Church of St. Jacques was filled with the bodies of the combatants from the Faubourgs, who were mowed down in heaps in the streets around the beautiful church by the artillery of the army of Versailles, acting under Marshal MacMahon. Thousands of the miserable wretches were flung in there, in one common heap, and covered over so lightly with clay that after the first heavy fall of rain limbs were seen protruding from the ground, all over the green sward. So, too, with regard to the cemetery of Père la Chaise. It was there that the Communards made their last stand. The tombstones bore many dents made by the bullets when the writer visited the cemetery some years after the memorable conflict. No spot in all the city or in the beautiful environments, was respected by the furious devastating

insurgents. Even the dead were not allowed to be unmolested in their long last sleep.

The bodies of the priests who were slain at the Carmelite Convent were stripped by the assassins, thrown into carts and taken away to the cemetery of Vaugirard. There a large pit had been prepared, and into this the corpses were flung, to be consumed with quicklime, as the bodies of executed murderers usually are. Not all the bodies were taken there; a few of those who fell in the first onslaught in the garden were pitched into a well. The skulls of twenty-four priests, mostly cloven or gashed, were afterwards recovered from this well. These relics and some others have been removed to the crypt, and on the 2d of September every year they are now shown there. The spot in the garden where the first victim, the Abbé Girault, was struck down, is marked by a marble column, and the place at the end of the stone staircase where the others were done to death by Maillard's hired crew is marked by a slab bearing the inscription, "*Hic ceciderunt.*"

A few priests contrived to escape the hands of the cruel murderers. One of these was the Abbé de la Pennonie, who had knelt down prepared to die, when some unknown friend whispered in his ear: "Run, my friend; run." There was a passage near, and into this the priest darted, but as he ran he got several sword-thrusts, but on he ran, and reached the street alive. He got into a friend's house, in the neighborhood, and found safety there till he secured passage in a ship to England. It was there that he related the particulars of the massacre, so far as he had witnessed it, to the Abbé Barruel, who included them in his book on "*The Clergy During the French Revolution.*" Nine other priests were saved, either by some soldiers of the Guard or by sympathetic onlookers. Of these were the Abbés De Bartot, Barbet, Fronteau and Saurin. Abbés De Montfleury, De Rest and Vilar managed to scale the convent wall and hide in a neighboring garden till they found an opportunity of getting away from the danger. Two others, the Abbés Martin and De Kerauant, got on the roof of the church and concealed themselves until the bloody work was over.

In the Palace of the Luxembourg, hard by, amongst the paintings in the famous gallery there is one striking one depicting the last scene in a Paris prison ere the Reign of Terror came to an end. It depicts the process of reading out the list of the condemned, and the visitor to the "*Convent des Carmes*" would do well, before going to the hallowed spot, to study the painful but lifelike details of the grim picture. It will enable him easily to realize the difference in behavior between a batch of civilian condemned and a battalion of the soldiers of God ready to die for Christ, as the martyrs of the

Carmelite Convent were on that awful September day in Paris the Mad.

It is moral torture to the sensitive mind—torture of the keenest edge—to follow the historian of the time when mankind in France was preparing for Revolution by a process of counter-revolution, from Man to Demon. Frightful and repulsive though it be, it is yet salutary. The man or woman who deliberately enters on the course necessary for the surgical or healing art must have the moral fibre to stubbornly refuse redress or heed the warnings of history as to forcing peoples to fall back upon “the counsels of despair,” as the argument to revolution has been appropriately termed. The successors of the Marats, the Dantons and the Robespierres who hold the reins of power in the France of to-day are wiser in their generation. Their objective is the same, but they no longer plant an intoricated and shameless essential to conquer the risings of the gorge at foul and disgusting conditions inseparable from disease and death. So, too, the student who would profit by the teaching of history in order to learn what he can do toward uplifting our common mundane concerns to a higher plane of ideals and a nobler objective than the forbears possessed and strove after. Those wretches in human form who outraged heaven and humanity in France for four years of world agony did some service unwittingly. Their unspeakable infamies filled the general mind with a sense of horror so indelible and nauseating that it has ever since caused rational men to turn aside from the suggestion of revolution and seek a golden mean or a *modus vivendi* between wrongs which have grown to be unbearable and the systems which ration, and in the end achieve their malignant purpose of dechristianizing France. These wise fools appear to have read a great deal of history, but not to understand it yet.

JOHN J. O'SHEA.

Philadelphia, Pa.

AN IRISH FOUNDRRESS.

CONVERSIONS from Protestantism to Catholicity are comparatively rare in Ireland. The racial and social lines of demarcation between the adherents of the ancient faith and the professors of the innovating creed, who long formed a dominant caste, were so sharply drawn that the religious question is not usually considered as a thing apart from politics and regarded on its exclusive merits as in England. Protestantism and Conservatism, representing the creed and the policy of the foreign element in the population, have mostly been convertible terms; and ever since foreign rule laid its heavy hand upon a country which has suffered so much from penal persecution and misgovernment, the deep-seated antagonism between the two creeds has been accentuated by political and social divisions. Although the line of demarcation is not now so rigidly traced, and in many parts, particularly in the South, is almost obliterated, and the antagonism is not so uncompromising on either side, owing to the political and social changes of recent years, from which has evolved a New Ireland—the popular movement having all but annihilated Protestant Ascendancy—there was a time when the profession and practice of Catholicism meant social ostracism, when Protestants and Catholics in Ireland stood aloof, when the former, the members of a wealthily-endowed State Church, in their pride of place and in the enjoyment of positions and privileges from which the others were debarred, looked contemptuously down upon the fleeced and fettered Irish who clung to the only thing of which the conqueror could not rob them—the Faith of their Fathers.

There is no rule without an exception; and the ruling caste in Ireland, even when Ascendancy reigned and revelled, comprised not a few whose attitude and action were very different from the majority of their co-religionists. One of these was Dr. David Aikenhead, a Cork physician, who, in defiance of Protestant prejudice, married Miss Mary Stackpole, the daughter of a Catholic merchant, and became the father of Mary Aikenhead, the foundress of the Irish Sisters of Charity.

Born in that city on January 19, 1787, at an epoch when the penal laws were relaxed but not yet repealed, she was brought up as a Protestant; her father, while allowing his pious wife to follow her own religion, having stipulated that their children should be reared as members of the then Established Church. Providence, which had other designs in her regard, so ordained that she was put out to nurse, as it is phrased, with one Mary Rorke, who lived on Eason's Hill, now called Eason's avenue, a narrow lane on the north side of

the city, contiguous to the Catholic Pro-Cathedral, then and long afterwards called "the North Chapel." During the six years she was in charge of this Catholic nurse she learned to join in Catholic devotions and to lisp the Rosary. Prayers to our Blessed Lady, whose name she bore, sowed the first seeds of faith destined in after years to fructify abundantly. This good, simple woman, one of the common people in whom the faith has ever been found purest and strongest in Ireland, was, unknown to herself, an instrument in God's hands in the working out of His designs. She and a poor servant named Molly Mullane took the infant to the North Chapel, where she received conditional Catholic baptism, although she had been previously taken to a Protestant church and was christened there. She often, too, took her to Mass as she grew older, and, when asked by her father as he was driving to Shandon church on a Sunday to accompany him to the Protestant service, she would cling closer to her nurse and in her childish way evince a preference for the Catholic chapel, with which she was more familiar. But after she returned home and had to go to church with her father and meet his Protestant guests¹ these Catholic impressions were half effaced and gave place to Protestant ones, for, meeting her former nurse one Sunday, she told her not to say any more prayers for her on the small beads, but only on the large ones. Mrs. Rorke, however, did not heed the admonition and continued to say the "Hail Marys." Again, when her grandmother, Mrs. Stackpole, offered her a pretty little rosary bead to decorate her doll's house, she replied: "No, thank you, grandmamma; all my dolls go to church except the kitchen maid, and it is much too good for her!" The Stackpoles, however, who descended from a branch of that Anglo-Irish family who came over with Strongbow and who had sacrificed everything by their adherence to the ancient faith, exercised a counter influence; and as Mary Aikenhead grew older and frequented her grandmother's house the prejudicial impressions made by her attendance at Shandon church were gradually effaced. They were pious Catholics and had partly rebuilt at their own expense the Church of St. Finbar,

¹ One of his guests was Lord Edward Fitzgerald, for Dr. Aikenhead, who retired from practice in 1798—the establishment of Aikenhead and Dupont passing into other hands—although his earlier sympathies leant to the dominant Protestant party, shared in later life the national aspirations of the people, joined the Society of United Irishmen and entered heartily into their views and plans. It is related that on one Sunday afternoon Lord Edward Fitzgerald, in the guise of a Quaker gentleman, sought refuge in his house when Dr. Aikenhead was entertaining, and joined the company at dinner, none but the host being aware who he was. But soon the party were disturbed by the arrival of troops, headed by the sheriff. The "Quaker" at once retired, and all the sheriff and soldiers could do was to ransack the house in search of compromising papers, which they failed to find.

originally erected in 1766 by a Cork Dominican,² Father Daniel Albert O'Brien, to replace the thatched building which stood on the site of the South Presentation Convent. Mary accompanied her grandmother to this church and to the North chapel and resumed saying the Rosary, in which she formerly joined along with her nurse and now added to her private devotions. Another Catholic influence was that of her widowed aunt, Mrs. Gorman, to whom she became very much attached. Assisting along with her for the first time at Benediction, she was greatly impressed by that simple and beautiful rite, which was explained to her as well as many other Catholic usages and devotions by her aunt, who gave her books to read, which she attentively perused. After a time she began to absent herself from Shandon church and to attend daily Mass at the Cathedral. She became more grave and thoughtful and felt more and more drawn towards Catholicism as the mists of prejudice were dispelled. The attraction was naturally strengthened by the death, on December 28, 1801, of her father, who was received into the Church, at his own request, before he passed away, consoled by the presence and ministrations of Bishop Moylan. A sermon by that prelate's coadjutor, Dr. Florence MacCarthy, seems to have fixed her resolution, and she declared to her aunt: "I shall never be happy until I am a Catholic." "Then why not become one at once?" was that good lady's reply. The response and the result was that on June 6, 1802, Mary Aikenhead, then in her sixteenth year, was received into the Catholic Church, making her first Communion on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul and getting Confirmation on July 2, the feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin. These memorable dates were ever afterwards engraven in her mind, and to the close of her life she never omitted celebrating their anniversaries with joy and thanksgiving.

The story of her conversion is very simple in its few details in contrast with the complicated histories of other conversions. It

² In the eighteenth century the Cork Dominicans lived in a narrow lane off Shandon street, still called Old Friary Lane. In 1751 the provincial applied to the master general of the order for authority to establish a novitiate in Cork. Eleven years afterwards postulants were sent abroad to receive the habit and study for this house. Daniel Albert O'Brien, one of those affiliated to the old Friary, went to Louvain, where, having finished his scholastic course, he was appointed professor of philosophy and regent of studies. Returning subsequently to Ireland, he labored zealously in Cork and Limerick, being remarkable as a preacher both in English and Irish. The See of Cork was separated from that of Cloyne in 1748, and Dr. Richard^a Walsh, Bishop of Cork, entrusted to Father O'Brien the pastoral charge of the south parish, where he built the church still standing and also acted as vicar general, for in those days Dominicans held several parishes in Ireland, there not being a sufficient number of secular priests. He resigned the parish in 1774 and returned to his convent in Friary Lane, where he died seven years afterwards.

was brought about in a homely and natural way, the outcome of the edifying associations of an humble cottage in the first instance and subsequently of a refined Catholic household in which the traditional piety of a Catholic ancestry had outlived all the storm and stress of penal times. But, though simple in its inception, it was followed by great and enduring results in the sequel.

Inherited natural qualities, a benevolent disposition, clear-headedness, sound judgment and fixity of purpose formed the basis in her character of a superstructure of those supernatural virtues, rooted in faith, which fitted her for the work of foundress of a religious order. She was well educated in one of the excellent private schools which then existed in Cork, a city noted for the literary and artistic aptitudes of its citizens. Bishop Milner, who was the guest of Bishop Moylan about this time, was most favorably impressed by the Irish, whose education he considered to be very much in advance of that of the same class in England, despite the operations of the penal laws, designed to stifle the intellectual as well as the spiritual life of Catholic Ireland. Well read and accomplished, Mary Aikenhead joined freely in the amusements and entertainments which enlivened social intercourse in that sociable city; but however late she may have remained up at a party or entertainment, it was remarked that she never missed 10 o'clock Mass the next morning. Attendance at daily Mass is still the rule rather than the exception among average good Catholics at the present day, and has both surprised and pleased priests who have taken part in the general missions which are given every five years. Even while still in the world, she served a kind of apprenticeship to the work of a Sister of Charity, making daily rounds of the poorest quarters of the town, bringing comfort and relief to the sick and needy, as she made her way through the lanes and alleys in company with a young lady of like dispositions, Miss Cecilia Lynch. She was already idolized by the poor of her native city, to whom she was a visible Providence. Encouraged in the exercise of these active virtues by her confessor, Dr. MacCarthy, who was himself very devoted to the poor of St. Finbar's parish, his death, in 1810,³ being much lamented, she made rapid progress in the way of holiness. Although since her eighteenth year she had been the mainstay of the family, and it was to her her widowed mother turned in every difficulty, and both relatives and friends contem-

³ He died a glorious death, a martyr to priestly duty. Passing one day in 1810 through a quarter of the city, not in his own parish (St. Finbarr's), where a virulent form of fever was raging, he was told that a poor creature lay dying in one of the houses. A neighbor entreated the Bishop not to risk his life by entering, but he replied: "I will go and save that soul." He went in, attended to the spiritual needs of the dying man, caught the fever and died after a few days' illness.

plated a suitable matrimonial alliance for her with one of the best families in Cork, she had long made up her mind to leave the world and enter religion. To consecrate herself to the service of the suffering poor was what she most earnestly desired; but there was then no order in Ireland which combined outside charitable work with the conventual life, visiting the destitute in their own homes and tending the sick in hospitals. There were then only two convents in Cork, the Ursuline and the Presentation, both begun by the saintly Nano Nagle, the superioress of the former being Mother Louis Moylan, the Bishop's sister, while the coadjutor's sister, Mother Borgia MacCarthy, was one of the community. These nuns wished her to join them, and she sometimes thought of doing so. The Presentation nuns, who were vowed to the service of the poor, while the Ursulines educated the daughters of the well-to-do, more closely corresponded with the ideal she had in her mind; but, though they helped to rescue the children of the lower orders from the degradation of ignorance to which the penal code had consigned them, they were now an enclosed order, and it could no longer be said of them, as it was said of their self-denying foundress, that "there was not a single garret in Cork which she did not know." They could not go out into the byways and give their personal service to the destitute and the sick. The example of the daughters of St. Vincent de Paul in France and of Nano Nagle in her own city appealed more directly to her. While she was hesitating which order she would join, her friend, Miss Lynch, who was about entering the convent of the Poor Clares at Harold's Cross, Dublin, induced her to promise to defer her decision until she had visited her at the Convent of Saint Clare, hoping that she might be thereby induced to become a Franciscan nun. An invitation to Dublin from Mrs. O'Brien, a sister of the late Judge Ball, who had gone to Cork to be present at the profession of one of her sisters at the Ursuline Convent, enabled her, in 1808, to fulfill her promise. But much as she might have desired to join her friend, she saw clearly that the rule of the Poor Clares did not harmonize with her views. She was more in the sphere she loved in coöperating with her hostess, Mrs. O'Brien, in her numerous active good works, daily visiting the poor in the Dublin slums, realizing from frequent personal contact with them the need of a religious Sisterhood combining the contemplative life of prayer in their convents with the active life outside. The Irish metropolis was already suffering from the social blight of the Union, which provincialized and pauperized it, and the so-called Emancipation, which the Catholics had been tricked into believing would quickly follow it, was to be withheld for nearly three decades, until O'Connell wrung it from a reluctant Legislature after years of strenuous agitation. Irish

Catholics, still cowering under an arrogant Ascendency and overshadowed by penal laws—suspended over their heads like the sword of Damocles—worshiped in earthen floored chapels in the country, “saying their multitudinous prayers in the mud,” as Mrs. Oliphant⁴ describes them, or in small chapels in the cities and towns hidden away in obscure quarters. Among the latter were the Chapel of St. Michan, in Mary’s lane, served by the Jesuits, the altar of which was attended to by some ladies, including Mrs. O’Brien’s younger sister, Miss Fanny Ball, afterwards the foundress of the Loretto Nuns in Ireland, and St. Mary’s, in Upper Liffey street, a dingy little edifice approached by a narrow passage from the street, and which, popularly known as “Liffey street chapel,”⁵ was Archbishop Troy’s Cathedral. The latter was the parish church of the O’Briens, and its curate, the Rev. Daniel Murray, afterwards Archbishop Murray, was a frequent visitor at their house, where their guest, Miss Aikenhead, met him and was much impressed by his conversation and still more by his saintliness. When, in 1809, he was consecrated as coadjutor to Archbishop Troy, he began to consider the possibility of founding a congregation of Irish Sisters of Charity. Miss Aikenhead was made aware of it by Sister Ignatius Lynch, to whom Dr. Murray had suggested remaining disengaged until the foundation could be made, but the latter did not feel equal to the responsibility of a new order, whereupon she exclaimed: “O Cecilia! why did you not wait?” These few words were repeated to the coadjutor, and apparently set him thinking. He was also greatly struck by her fervor on one occasion when he and the Bishop of Cork, then in Dublin, were discussing the projected foundation Mary Aikenhead, kindling at once at the idea, turned to Dr. Moylan, exclaiming earnestly: “Oh, my Lord, when will *you* bring Sisters of Charity to Cork?” These expressions and the spirit that evidently prompted their utterance confirmed Dr. Murray in the opinion he had already formed that she was herself the instrument chosen by Providence to carry out the design and got Mrs. O’Brien to prevail upon her to give her coöperation. She replied that if an efficient superior and two or three members undertook the work, she should certainly think that in joining them she would be doing what God required of her. While the project was maturing the ladies engaged in charitable work in Dublin rented a house in Ash street, near the Coombe, for the purpose of sheltering a number of poor girls of good character, but in need of refuge. Mary Aikenhead took an active interest in this refuge, which it was pre-determined should be transferred to the Sisters of Charity as soon as formed. The thought of being

⁴ “Life of Montalembert.”

⁵ It now forms part of the stores of Bewley & Draper, Mary street.

their foundress then never entered her mind, and it was to her dismay she learned that she was to be entrusted with that important work. At first, timid and self-distrustful, she declined to accept the responsibility, and it was not without much difficulty that Dr. Murray overcame her reluctance. She reserved her final consent, however, until after she had made a general confession to the Archbishop, thinking, doubtless, that it might lead him to alter his opinion as to her fitness. But Dr. Murray remained as decided as ever, and assured her most solemnly that it was God's will that she should carry out the work; for the time was ripe for the foundation. Encouraged by Dr. Everard, president of Maynooth, who was warmly interested in the undertaking, she finally consented. Accompanied by Miss Alicia Walsh, a lady of good family, she made, along with her, a year's novitiate at the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Micklegate Bar, York, where they arrived on June 6, 1812, the anniversary of her reception into the Catholic Church; studying the principles and practices of the religious life, taking the name of Sister Mary Augustin, while her companion chose that of Sister Mary Catherine, after the Citizen Saint of Siena, to whom she had a special devotion.

Like every chosen soul under similar circumstances, her constancy was tested by doubts and disquietude. She shrank from the responsibility of founding and directing an entirely new order, and was much troubled about her younger sisters, who had but recently left the convent school at Blackrock, their mother having died after her daughter's return to Cork. Dr. Murray dispelled her doubts and calmed her fears, assuring her that in "humble obedience there was the certain means of accomplishing the will of God," and that "there may be sometimes as much humility in accepting an office as in rejecting it." "I share in all your anxieties," he wrote, "but my apprehensions are not as lively as yours. The work in which you are preparing to engage is the work of God, and He is able to make it prosper. It would certainly fail if it were to rest upon human resources. Distrust yourself, trust in Him; and you cannot fail. He in whose hand the moistened clay could restore sight to the blind can make His frail, imperfect servant, if she be little in her own eyes, the powerful instrument of extending His glory."

The decision as to whether the new congregation was to be autonomous or subject to foreign supervision being left to her, the idea of making the foundation conformably to the *projet d'accord* with the French Sisters of Charity was, after much prayer and mature deliberation, ultimately rejected in favor of a home-governed institute, united, however, by the closest ties of charity with the older order in France and participating in all the spiritual advantages of

such a union, the work being based on the "Rule of the English Virgins" at York, as approved by Pope Clement XI. Meanwhile, in order to fit themselves better for the work, after the termination of their novitiate, Mary Aikenhead and her companion, at their own entreaty, spent an additional twelve months' probation in the convent at York.

The Veto question, then under the consideration of the Holy See, having necessitated Dr. Murray's presence in Rome, he availed of the opportunity to obtain from the ecclesiastical authorities all the faculties needed to establish the new community; and on his return in February, 1815, a house in North William street, Dublin, built by the Trinitarian Confraternity for an orphanage, was offered to and accepted by him from the president, Mr. Christopher Elliot, for their use in consideration of their taking charge of the orphans; a chapel being added by means of funds chiefly donated by Miss Matilda Denis, a lady noted for her many good works. On the octave of the Assumption, the titular feast of the future order, the foundress and her companion returned to Dublin, making their first vows on September 1, when Dr. Murray named Sister Augustin Aikenhead mother general and Sister Catherine Walsh mistress of novices. The first postulant, Miss Catherine Lynch, of Drogheda, arrived on the 3d of the same month; the three constituting the first community of the Irish Sisters of Charity, a *pusillus grex* destined to increase and multiply, making the worth and work of Mary Aikenhead known far and wide. The infant community having been placed under the special care of the celebrated Irish Jesuit, Father Kenny, with the Rev. Matthias Kelly as their chaplain, Dr. Murray returned to Rome and obtained from Pius VII., on the petition of Archbishop Troy, the Papal rescript for the canonical erection of the congregation; another Jesuit, Father St. Leger, having the largest share in drawing up the rule and constitutions, grounded, like the York rule, on that of St. Ignatius Loyola. The new order was, in fact, moulded, matured and inspired by the Irish Jesuits, under whose spiritual guidance the first Sisters were formed to solid piety. On December 9, 1816, the two first religious made their perpetual vows; the first public reception of novices taking place in the September following, the text of Father Kenny's sermon on the occasion—*Caritas Christi urget nos*—being adopted as the motto of the congregation, emblazoned in their chapels, engraved on their seals and exemplified in their daily lives. Meanwhile, on September 10, 1816, nuns were seen for the first time in Ireland visiting the sick poor in their own homes in the lanes and alleys of Dublin. Up to that time they had not assumed any distinctive costume, but merely wore a plain black dress and muslin cap, for which the religious habit, now so well known as that

of the Irish Sisters of Charity, was substituted at the Pentecost of 1817.

A few months after the first public reception, took place the first public profession, when Sister Mary Teresa Lynch, the first postulant, and Sister Mary De Sales Clinch pronounced their vows. The former finished her course very early, for three months after her profession she died of fever, death in 1818 lessening the number of the small community by the demise of two, Sister Mary Magdalen Chamberlain being likewise soon called to her reward. This increased the strain of work upon the survivors, Mary Aikenhead having to fill several offices beside that of mother general, sometimes replacing Mother Catherine as novice mistress, alternately going out to tend the sick or remaining to cook the frugal dinner which on two days in the week consisted only of porridge or "stirabout," or to scrub the stairs and corridor. It is related that on one occasion when scouring the stairs, all the other Sisters being out, she answered the door bell, summoned by a distinguished prelate, who called to see the superioress of the Sisters of Charity. She at once showed the visitor into the reception room and retired, saying that the reverend mother would be with him presently. In a few minutes the apron was removed, the skirt let down and Miss Aikenhead returned to engage in conversation with His Lordship, who apparently did not recognize in the dignified mother general the humble lay Sister who, as he thought, had answered the door. The strain of overwork threatening to break down her health, she had to retire to Rahan Lodge, in the King's County, a country seat of the O'Briens, to recuperate, returning after two months to North William street to train the future members of the congregation, aided by the experience in the spiritual life of Father St. Leger—a typical Jesuit, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of St. Ignatius and a master of the spiritual life—at all times her wise counsellor, particularly when, to leave Mother Catherine free to follow her special attraction in tending the sick poor, she relieved her of the office of mistress of novices.

Mrs. Aikenhead developed into an ideal novice mistress as well as foundress, uniting shrewd, practical, sound sense with high spirituality divested of anything merely emotional or exalté. "It was feared for some time by many," says one of her biographers,⁶ "that the union of daily practical laborious work with the strict interior discipline and high spirituality which the rule propounded, would be found too severe a strain for the feminine mind to bear, however it might come within the scope of some religious orders of men. At one time, later on in the history of the institute, an effort was actually made—to the great vexation of Mrs. Aikenhead—to change the

⁶ "The Story of Mary Aikenhead," by Maria Nethercott, pp. 62-63.

constitutions and render them less strict. But the crisis passed, though not without loss and pain. Mrs. Aikenhead always held to the opinion that Sisters of Charity need to be more spiritual than other religious to uphold them in a purer atmosphere and prevent them from contracting any grossness of idea amid the scenes they daily witness. Archbishop Murray, as well as Father St. Leger, decidedly took the same view. The result has amply shown that the high training of the novitiate is calculated in an eminent degree to form the best types of women, full of noble self-restraint, with true dignity of character and the gentle reasonableness which should distinguish Catholic Christians. Simple yet cultured in manner, they exhibit a breadth of mind, and in many instances a masculine understanding, which a course of logic and the study of the higher branches of learning may develop in women; but how often in these cases are the spiritual faculties dwarfed, and but half the nature is developed after all."

The refuge in Ash street having been removed to Stanhope street in 1814, the Sisters of Charity, aided by Miss Denis, transformed it, in 1819, into the Convent of the Purification, which became the mother house when North William street was given up. Referring to this epoch in after years, she wrote: "The 29th will be the foundation day at poor old Stanhope street. I went thither from North William street on that day in 1819, leaving all the professed Sisters, namely Mother Catherine and two more, and taking with me just four novices, we having lost by holy deaths our two eldest professed Sisters the year before; so that our entire number was eight living members." There from 1819 to 1826 Mrs. Aikenhead devoted herself to the training of the novices, whose numbers steadily increased; still visiting and relieving the sick poor and performing other external duties.

Among the early band of Sisters of Charity, notes the writer⁷ last quoted, there was a great diversity of age and circumstances. Some were quite young; others had reached a mature age when they joined, and a few were widows, as Mrs. Corbally, a very zealous member, much beloved, who devoted herself particularly to the House of Refuge, with most useful results, and Mrs. Coleman, who held for many years an important position in the congregation. Among those that entered the novitiate in Stanhope street was the reverend mother's sister, Anne, who soon after the marriage of their sister Margaret to Dr. Hinkson, of Killarney, decided to join the community, followed by her cousin, Mary Hennessy, a most valuable addition to the congregation, being extremely well educated and with a remarkable capacity for work.

⁷ Maria Nethercott, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

The foundation, on November 13, 1826, of the Cork convent in Peacock lane, on an elevated site midway between the Cathedral and the Christian Brothers' schools, was the realization of one of her earliest day dreams. Its history is of special interest, one of many instances of association in well-doing which links lives lived for a common purpose. While she was making her novitiate in York Mr. Timothy Mahony, a member of the family who established the well-known Blarney woolen mills, died a martyr to charity,⁸ bequeathing a sum of money for the foundation of a convent of the Order of Charity in his native city, where his memory is still held in benediction. A still larger sum was donated by the Misses Mahony, who belonged to another family of the same name. Dr. Murphy, Bishop of Cork, who succeeded Dr. Moylan in 1815, gave effect to the testator's wishes, and in the autumn of 1826 brought Mrs. Aikenhead and Sister Mary Regis Teeling from Dublin to found the convent, primitively a ramshackle building, popularly called a "gazebo" and humorously designated "Cork Castle" by the nuns, who on November 19 began their work of visiting and relieving the poor of the north parish, in which their successors have ever since been engaged. The people, who have never lost their traditional reverence for the religious habit, were overjoyed to see them moving in their midst, and spoke of them by various names, such as "the walking nuns," the "Black Ladies" and the "Daughters of God." It was a trying time. Typhus fever was prevalent in the poorer quarters of the city, and they had to go at the risk of their lives into the wretched, unsanitary hovels and tenement houses in which the poor were huddled together, breathing a pestilential atmosphere. Two of the nuns were laid low with the dread epidemic, one, Sister Ignatius Aikenhead, eventually succumbing to its effects, the foundress having meanwhile returned to Dublin early in 1827, leaving Mrs. Teeling as rectress with a small community of four Sisters. But small as they were in numbers, they had to cope with a great deal of work. They instructed the sick in the North Infirmary, now in charge of nuns of the French branch of the order; took charge of the penitents in St. Mary Magdalen's Asylum, a most meritorious work in which the Irish Sisters confer a benefit on the public as well as on the individuals; taught catechism in the Cathedral⁹ and opened

⁸ He was an active and very zealous member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. He dreamt one night that a patient in the fever hospital was in danger of collapse and was at the crisis of the disease. The dream recurring, he got up and hurried to the hospital, where he found his dream verified. He administered the needed drink or medicine, saved the patient's life, but caught the fever, of which he died, to the universal grief and regret of his fellow-citizens, by whom he was held in the highest esteem.

⁹ The formation and teaching of catechism classes by pious laity on Sundays in the Cork churches was begun in the south parish during the pastorate of Dr. McCarthy, at the suggestion of the grandfather of the present writer.

an evening class for children preparing for their first Communion. A class for adults was also formed, attended by a large number of the Catholic soldiers of the garrison, some of their Protestant comrades at their own request joining them, with the result that several were converted. The nuns had many difficulties to overcome, and their finances were often at a low ebb and left them without sufficient means to help the poor. Mrs. Aikenhead, however, taught them to share abjection and privation with those they spiritually and materially ministered to. "Sisters of Charity," she said, "are not to gain heaven without suffering with as well as for the poor."

The establishment of free schools in Upper Gardner street, Dublin, where with the £4,000 bequeathed for the purpose by Dr. Everard, they built a new convent—having given up the North William street house to a community of Carmelites—is illustrative of the educational difficulties Catholic teachers had to contend with at that epoch. Owing to the lack of Catholic schools, most of the children were totally unused to order or disciplinary control, and the rest had been attending sectarian institutions, where, being warned by their parents against the religious instruction given therein, they had become suspicious of their teachers and were now, when placed under nuns, unable for a time to distinguish the difference. At first the nuns found all their efforts unavailing to manage the noisy little mob that crowded the rooms; but at length, with the aid of the Christian Brothers, order was established and henceforward the schools flourished. They came to be regarded as the best in Dublin, while the convent was looked upon as the great mission house of the congregation. A poor school was also set up in Sandymount, one of the southern seaside suburbs of Dublin, where, from 1831 to 1835, Mrs. Aikenhead remained completely invalided, suffering from chronic inflammation of the spine.

In 1832 another and more trying ordeal awaited them. In that year Asiatic cholera broke out in Ireland, making its first appearance in Dublin, a city ill prepared, owing to overcrowding and squalor, for such a visitation. The courage and zeal of the Irish Sisters of Charity rose to the occasion. In their visits to the Grangorman Penitentiary, converted into a cholera hospital, the Sisters, some of them only novices, displayed that self-sacrificing heroism in which Irish nuns, whether facing death in hospitals or on battlefields, have never been found wanting. They were at the hospital from 8 o'clock in the morning until nightfall, only going to their convent at midday to snatch a hasty and meagre meal. The mortality was fearful. So rapidly did death carry off its victims that frequently eight different occupants of one bed succeeded each other in the course of a single day. The deaths daily posted at the hos-

pital gates numbered from fifty to eighty; the scenes among the crowd that constantly collected, as one after another read the name of a dear relative, being most distressing to witness. The nuns' zeal and total disregard of personal danger made a profound impression and compelled respect and admiration even on the part of Protestants not predisposed to regard Catholic religious favorably. One of the Sisters caught the contagion, but she recovered, and in a few days was again at her post. The epidemic disappeared from the city at the close of 1832, but reappeared in Sandymount and Irishtown the year following, when Mrs. Aikenhead opened a temporary hospital, served by the Sisters, at Ringsend, in close proximity to the latter place.

The cholera raged longer and with greater severity in Cork, where, the doctors failing to check its ravages, the people not only lost all faith in their treatment, but even regarded them with violent antipathy. The Sisters of Charity, at the instance of the Bishop, went from house to house in the lanes and alleys, endeavoring to persuade the stricken people to go to hospital. It was only the presence of the nuns, when brought to the hospitals, that restored public confidence, and often, it was only in their wake that the doctors could go in with safety. Many conversions took place on the bed of suffering or of death, for the poor stricken Protestants who lay there had none to give them spiritual consolation, their own ministers, both in Cork and Dublin, with one solitary exception, having declined to attend the cholera patients. When they saw those around them consoled in their last agony by the ministrations of the priests and Sisters of Charity, it was not strange that they should think that the religion which prompted its professors to such deeds of self-sacrifice and mercy would afford them the safest transit to the next world.¹⁰

Widespread destitution followed in the train of the cholera and afforded the Sisters occasion for a further exercise of that self-devotedness of which they had already given evidence, taking an active part in the work of relieving the famishing, the management and distribution of funds and food being assigned to them.

Meanwhile, during this life and death struggle with disease and destitution, Mrs. Aikenhead, placed *horse de combat* by her prolonged and painful illness, suffered a continual physical and moral martyrdom, being obliged to be constantly reclining in the one position except when she went out occasionally in a little vehicle to visit her convents and other places where her presence was necessary, unable to stand or move without intense pain. The patience and cheerfulness with which she endured all this reminds one of what is recorded of bed-ridden saints. Her only solace was reading, of

¹⁰ Maria Nethercott, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

which she was always very fond. "One of the most remarkable features in her life," writes Maria Nethercott,¹¹ "is the fact that what would have brought an ordinary person's career of usefulness to a close was the very thing which formed the basis of the reverend mother's greatest undertakings. Confined as she was to her room, and often her bed, for weeks, months, and years, Mrs. Aikenhead governed her order by her pen, deepened the spiritual life in it by her own sufferings and instructions to others, and seemed endowed with inexhaustible energy and hope in opening out works of charity in every direction. So long as she was herself overwhelmed with exterior work and leading a life of constant unreprieve, it was impossible she could become the fountain of living water to others. Divine Providence altered all that by chaining the mother general to one spot, whence all her children might derive sustenance and guidance. Others might be the hands and feet, she was the *heart* and *soul* of the congregation. In the letters written at Sandymount, which were the first of a long series continued in other places, she spared herself no trouble, in some of them entering into minute directions about charitable projects or domestic affairs—for nothing of this sort was beneath her notice—in others treating of the most deeply spiritual subjects."

To this period belong the taking over, in 1833, of the Penitents' Asylum in Townsend street,¹² removed to Donnybrook in 1837; the founding, in 1835, of St. Vincent's Hospital, Stephens Green, one of the principal hospitals and medical schools in Dublin, started with a gift of £3,000 from Sister M. Teresa O'Ferrall, in what, in pre-Union times, had been the town house of the Earl of Meath, to which was added, in 1841, an adjoining house belonging to the Marquis of Westmeath; the sending out of a small colony of five Sisters, who volunteered for the mission in Paramatta, New South Wales, then a penal settlement; an unsuccessful attempt in 1840 to establish a branch of the order in Preston; a very successful foundation in Waterford in 1841; a foundation in Clarinbridge, in the west of Ireland, in 1844; at Clonmel in 1845; at Harold's Cross, which

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

¹² This institution was begun by two persons in humble life, Mrs. Bridget Burke and a man named Quarterman, who organized a penny collection, procuring lodgings for poor women they sought to reclaim from evil life. The pious project succeeded so well that they were able to rent a house for the reception of the penitents, who were employed in washing and needlework. After a time its superintendence was undertaken by a zealous lady, Mrs. Ryan, niece of Archbishop Troy, under whose management it prospered, but after whose demise it suffered financially and otherwise. It was reorganized by Sister Francis Magdalen MacCarthy, of the Stanhope Street Convent. The work was subsequently transferred to Donnybrook Castle, formerly the residence of Chief Justice Flood father of the famous Henry Flood, one of the foremost figures in the old Irish Parliament.

became the mother house in place of Stanhope street convent, in the same year, and in 1858 one close to the venerable ruins of Benada Abbey, which formerly belonged to the Eremites of St. Augustin and was now, after the lapse of several centuries, restored to religious uses, the last official act of the foundress.¹³

Mary Aikenhead was a type of the valiant woman in the Biblical sense of the words. Difficulties neither deterred nor dismayed her. Those she encountered in the establishment of St. Vincent's Hospital, of all her foundations the one dearest to her great charitable heart, were not only financial, but arose from the captious criticism of people who thought it an imprudent undertaking, unsuited to religious. The majority, however, gave their sincere sympathy and approval and regarded with admiration the noble-minded woman to whose courage and exertions it owed its accomplishment.¹⁴ That end was not reached until obstacles had been overcome which put her confidence in God, firmly founded on faith, to the test. "To yourself alone," she wrote to one of the Cork Sisters, "I freely say that we have not, or seem not to have, any one but the Almighty Himself to aid us in this great undertaking. Such coldness from all as would surprise you! . . . This want of support, this falling away of every one is a trial to me." She bore this trial, as she bore every other, with patience and fortitude. Soon influential friends like the Marchioness of Wellesby, a Catholic of Irish descent whose husband was Viceroy for the second time, and Daniel O'Connell, the liberator of Irish and English Catholics, who always took the greatest interest in St. Vincent's, gathered round her, money poured in,

¹³ During the Elizabethan war, which laid Ireland waste, the troops of Sir Richard Bingham invaded the abbey, which was confiscated and bestowed upon a Welshman named Roger Jones, a bitter Protestant, whose descendants down to the close of the eighteenth century signalized themselves as fierce persecutors of the Catholics. The Roger Jones of that day, a man of violent temper, hearing that the parish priest was about to denounce from the altar a member of his flock who lived on the Benada property, threatened if he dared to carry out his intention he would assault him at the altar. The priest, however, took no notice, and on the following Sunday proceeded to perform what he considered his duty, and mentioned the name of the man whose conduct deserved this public censure. No sooner were the words uttered than Jones, who was in the church, sprang over the altar rails and lifted his hand to commit the outrage. The people rose and with one voice cried out: "The curse of St. Atracta be upon you!" Immediately the uplifted arm dropped powerless, stricken by a fatal paralysis. He recognized a supernatural power in it, sent for the priest, begged his forgiveness, and after a time was received into the Catholic Church. His eldest son became a priest and bequeathed the property to his nephew, from whom sprang the first generation of Catholic Joneses. The eldest son of this nephew became a Jesuit and two of his daughters nuns, one an Irish Sister of Charity and the other a Sister of Mercy. Father Jones became the founder of the Convent of Our Lady of Benada, donating the ancestral seat of Benada Abbey to Mrs. Aikenhead for her congregation.

¹⁴ Nethercott, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

and the supplies did not fail until all was satisfactorily accomplished at a cost of about £8,000. The magnificent banqueting room in the Marquis of Westmeath's town house, which had been the scene of many a brilliant revel in pre-Union times, was filled with the sick poor of Dublin, Protestants as well as Catholics, a noble example of large-hearted and broad-minded Christian charity in a country where the Catholic majority were still often the victims of intolerance and injustice, a fact which did not prevent her from appointing Dr. Bellingham, a Protestant of a very anti-Catholic family, as second physician to the hospital.

From 1835 to 1845 Mrs. Aikenhead usually lived at St. Vincent's, where, in 1840, she kept the silver jubilee of the foundation of the Irish Sisters of Charity, and two years later the fortieth anniversary of her reception into the Church. There she brought out translations, compilations and new editions of standard works for the use of her communities, and there received many distinguished visitors, including Dr. Wiseman (not yet Cardinal), whose cousin, Mrs. MacCarthy, was at the time rectress; Dr. Pusey, who found conversation with her so absorbing that on one occasion his visit extended to two hours, for she was deeply interested in the Oxford Movement, and gratified his wish to witness a religious profession, which he did at Stanhope street convent; Gerald Griffin, who came from time to time to see his sister, then a novice, to whom he expressed his appreciation of the foundress in the laconic comment, "She'll do," but who had already poetically panegyricized the Sisters of Charity in his exquisite verses, and Richard Dalton Williams, another Irish poet, whose poem in praise of the "Sister of Charity, gentle and dutiful," was read in court when, in 1848, he was tried for treason-felony, and *Iræ* and "*Adoro Te devote*" for the "*Manual of Prayers*" Mrs. *Iræ* and "*Adoro Te devote*" for the "*Manual of Prayers*" Miss Aikenhead brought out for the use of the congregation, and wrote an original poem, "*Teach me, O God,*" for their little hymn book. She does not appear to have ever met Newman during the great Oratorian's five years' sojourn in Dublin (1845-59), but his name was inscribed in the list of donors to St. Vincent's Hospital, and he sometimes said Mass in the chapel while rector of the Catholic University. Had they met two remarkable personalities, types of rival races but united in the same faith, would have encountered each other. She was a born leader of women, as he was a born leader of men. Her bearing at this time is described as majestic, and the sweet benignity of her countenance as expressive of the qualities that made her both revered and loved by her spiritual daughters and sisters, and gave her such an extraordinary influence over all who came in contact with her. The most eminent and distinguished persons considered it a

treat to converse with her, for she was exceptionally well informed on a wide range of subjects, and they frequently found their way up the long ascent to her apartments in the upper story, where they felt they were in presence of a remarkable woman of a strongly individualized character. She was open and genial with every one; even in the least concerns, observes one of her biographers,¹⁵ her greatness of soul and her indifference to worldly opinions were apparent.

She was a visible embodiment and living illustration of the rule she vowed and followed faithfully to the end, both in the letter and the spirit. She was full of kindness in her intercourse with her subjects, though Faber says that religious folk, as a rule, are an unkindly lot. Of her pleasant, half-humorous way of administering a reproof some piquant traits are given, which reveal at once her character and her method of direction. Her love of truth was intense, and she particularly encouraged straightforwardness in the young Sisters. "A deep sense of truth without quibbles," she says in one of her letters, "we should be careful to require in every candidate of both classes. Try that all ours should discriminate between artful and real simplicity." Another time she wrote: "I wish we could teach folk the importance of simplicity. Truth suffers always from any deviation from beautiful simplicity." She had great skill in reading character, and was not easily deceived. It was said she could "rip up the truth with a look," with one of those "long glances" described by her children. Those who did careless or stupid things, with the idea that they were cultivating piety, were her special aversion. "We want young women who have sense and know how to use it," she would say. Perfection, she taught, consists in doing ordinary actions in a perfect manner, and with the full bent of the powers of the soul. "I don't like people who always look down," she once said to a lay Sister who had charge of the halls and parlors. "Look up, child," pointing to the ceiling, from which a large cobweb hung. "And now, my child," she added, "if you looked up more to the heavens, you would do your work in a more perfect way for God." While she liked fervor and earnestness, showing that a Sister's heart was in the work, she disliked and discouraged fussiness. "My child," she said to a nun who was overanxious about one of the patients she had charge of, "you would want to carry about a priest in one pocket and a doctor in the other." She delighted to see the Sisters going through the wards, busy and cheerful, attending to the sick poor. When she saw an expression of anxiety or weariness on a Sister's face she would say: "Have you too much to do, my heart? I am afraid the yoke of the Lord is too heavy for you. God loves

¹⁵ Nethercott, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

the cheerful giver." On occasions she did not hesitate to rebuke severely, and cut deep, but it was a tongue that smote only to heal. "Did you meet N. N.?" she asked of a Sister. "Yes, mother," was the reply; "she seems in great affliction." "I fear I did speak to her severely," said Mrs. Aikenhead. "Oh, I am sure you did," the nun observed, "for she is breaking her heart crying." "I am glad to hear it," she quietly remarked. "God loves a heart that is easily made to bleed. He can readily imprint His own Divine character on it." Of a young nun she wrote: "Talent of a useful kind she has, but we must try to plough up the ground somehow. True humility she has never evinced, and she is quite deficient in self-knowledge. Pray, and teach her as much as you can. I fear there is a want in her brain, and unless our Lord is pleased to grant abundant grace, I should fear our ever being able to make use of the talent. Do, my dear child, teach her to take her heart asunder, and to look into the folds of it. She certainly thinks herself of more importance than any one without solid virtue can ever be in a community. That confidence which utter ignorance gives to certain characters is really astonishing. We often observe that she is one never apt to ask a question, and never to see her own defects; but she has one blessing, *good temper*. However, that is often an accompaniment of bold, undaunted characters. Don't be disedified. I only speak as I would of the maladies of her body to the physician. She is one who would really be the better of a real humiliation caused by her own actual fault." This passage is photographic in its minute delineation of character and depicts *au vif* the sagacious superior with the ripened mind and the raw, unformed subject. "One word for all," she wrote to a superior of one of her houses, "beware of over-smooth, quiet folk. Those who fall into many faults either from ardent temperament, or even a certain degree of levity and vanity, have a good experience of humiliation, and with openness of heart will improve and be useful." Of a certain nun she said: "M—— has not much quickness, but if she turn her mind to zeal, and does not allow her own body and its ailments to occupy the powers of her soul—I mean the memory and the will—she has a vivacity of intellect which will help her. Indeed, the less we indulge our poor imaginations on points entirely selfish, either relating to soul or body, the holier and happier we shall be. And I do believe the arch-enemy is ever trying to keep us occupied with self in some shape or other, well knowing, the cunning wretch, that whilst he can keep us in such occupation of mind, he succeeds in forming an obstacle to all sanctity." She greatly disapproved of any of the Sisters wishing or praying for death, declaring that "it is a glorious lot to live and be allowed to labor for God. This," she added, "I learned from the dying lips of

a young and saintly nun,¹⁶ when near her last struggle, and I have often thought that if any one ever died in the enjoyment of a certain conviction of the Divine Presence, that holy soul was the one. So, my dear, let us ever glory in our exercises of mind and body in this life, trying to live by faith." To one of the nuns she wrote "not to allow the faint-hearted idea of wishing to be relieved by death to have one instant's place in her passion of thoughts," characterizing it as "worse than cowardice" and tending to "a very great illusion" and "non-conformity with the Divine will."

Her practical bent of mind is shown in the following bit of advice to a nun engaged in an important work: "You know it would be a sort of presumption to say, 'I can do all things in Him who strengthens me,' if you were to omit the necessary exertion on your part. Your character requires not so much the exercise of disengagement from creatures as a steady effort to die to self. Be assured of it, self-love is the source from which all our trials derive their bitterness." She was not one of those who would put a high thing upon a low ground; her idea of the religious state and its obligations was elevated. Though permanently invalided, and, like St. Teresa, nearly "ground to powder" with letter writing, she threw herself heart and soul into the work of directing by means of correspondence the superiors of distant houses, many of whom were comparatively young and inexperienced, anxious that the spirit of the first band of Sisters of Charity should be transmitted to future generations. That spirit was akin to that of the saints. "Truly," she wrote to one of the Sisters to whom she was sending an ecclesiastical history of Ireland, "we are the successors of eminent saints, and we ought to know and emulate their virtues." Like the saints, she had to sow in tears what she reaped in joy. Alluding to the difficulties that frequently beset her, she wrote: "Only that we must confide in the miraculous Providence of the Almighty Father, I own to you I should 'faint in the way' from the difficulties that surround us; but we must try our best to stand steadily under the heat and burden of the day, and with perseverance labor in our special engagements in the service of the poor. . . . A Sister of Charity would be very faulty who should refuse to cast all her solicitude upon that Almighty Providence of whose miraculous power we have had during the last thirty years such constant and wonderful proofs." She always met blame and misrepresentation, of which her critics were unsparing, with silence, and advised the superiors of her houses to do likewise. Nothing would induce her to admit as a member any one

¹⁶ One of the Gardiner street community, who died of brain fever in 1845, and who, while still a young novice, had zealously tended the stricken and dying during the cholera epidemic in Dublin.

who stipulated to be sent to any particular locality or engaged in any special work. "I *never* will admit any person to profession for a particular place," she declared emphatically. "If ever that be done (no superior could do it with a safe conscience), we may date the upset of the congregation. If £3,000 a year, or £10,000 were the fortune, a point of this kind, which includes the destruction of *obedience* and *dependence*, must never be conceded." One of the Sisters who happened to be with her on an occasion of severe trial to the congregation, relates that no word of censure towards those who caused the trouble or the slightest act betrayed the anguish she was enduring; only occasionally the murmured words, "O my God, not as I will, but as Thou willest," or "*Fiat! fiat!*" escaped her lips. Even when her physical sufferings increased, and her chronic spinal malady became complicated with frequent attacks of bronchitis and cardiac trouble, she was always uncomplaining and cheerful. "How are you to-day mother?" she was asked one morning. "Ah, how could I be, my dear child," she replied, "but like a crock that you may have seen in the country tied up with cords and kept together by careful handling. Only for the charity and attentive care of our dear Sisters, I should long since have come asunder." Another time, when unable from ill health to attend daily Mass, she was asked if she did not feel it a great privation. "Oh, yes, child; the very greatest," she answered; "but I'll tell you how I sanctify it and occupy my thoughts during Holy Mass. First, I reflect how unworthy I am of being present at the great Sacrifice of Calvary; therefore, it is right He should call on me to make the greatest sacrifice I can offer Him. Then I solace myself by going in spirit to each of our convents, and uniting at each altar with the great Victim who offers Himself to His Eternal Father for us poor sinners. And I think with humility of the condescension of the great God in making use of *me*, so weak an instrument, to procure His Divine Majesty so much glory. Oh, pray, child; I ought to be a saint!" If she was not a saint in the sense of those who have been raised to the honors of the Church's altars, she strove to follow in their footsteps and, at least, assimilated some of their qualities. A distinguished ecclesiastic who knew her intimately said she reminded him of St. Teresa and St. Catherine of Siena, "with a dash of the Celtic nature." One of the characteristics of the saints which she possessed was freedom of spirit, a Catholicity and breadth of mind which excluded all narrowness. She was entirely free from any rivalry or jealousy of other orders, saying that "in the Holy Church there is room for all," warning her subjects against "every illusion of false zeal or false love of their own institute." She sympathized deeply with those who devoted all their energies to alleviate the sufferings of the

wounded during the Crimean War, expressing her warm appreciation of the noble mission of the Sisters of Mercy who went to the East, ordering prayers to be offered for them in all her convents. She had already established a union of prayer and good works with the York Convent, the Congregation of Hospitaliers of St. Thomas and the French Sisters of Charity, the Irish Sisters being almost in spiritual union with the Dominican Order and the Society of Jesus.

Her last days were spent at Our Lady's Mount, Harold's Cross, to which she removed from St. Vincent's in 1845, the year of its foundation, and where the apartment she occupied is shown to visitors. Although her closing years were a series of struggles against an accumulation of infirmities, she retained her clearness of intellect and vivacity of spirits to the last, her Irish wit and humor enlivening her conversation, still continuing interested in passing events and still writing, though suffering great bodily pain. A postulant of that period, who went to arrange about entering the noviceship, describes how "the great old mother" entered the room, leaning on a stick and attended by her favorite black dog, which leaped up beside her when she sat down. "There was a grandeur in the outline of the features and in their expression," she says, "and there were certain curves about the mouth and cheeks which I do not remember to have seen so marked in any other face. Her large, well set eyes, which looked soft enough to melt when she moved, and were so heavenly when a holy chord was touched, had also much humor in them at times, and could give full expression to a majestic severity when it was necessary to defend a just cause. Her soul shone through them. She inspired both fear and love. But the fear was perhaps rather that diffidence which one feels in the presence of a powerful and strongly individualized character. And yet I do not remember that I ever met any one to whom I approached with greater confidence and in whose presence I less felt my own weakness."

Letter writing became more and more difficult during those closing years on account of a rheumatic affection in her fingers, and she used to speak of "her poor lame pen." As the end approached she was unable to leave her bed. She suffered from an affection of the heart and a tendency to dropsy, and when the latter subsided paralysis set in. To her physical sufferings were added spiritual trials—that feeling of loneliness and desolation akin to the dereliction on Calvary, which some souls are called upon to endure before the spirit leaves the body. One day, after her confessor had left, the infirmarian heard her murmur, as if thinking aloud: "No comfort, no support!" The Sister ventured to remind her of St. Francis Xavier on the desert island of Sanciano without one kindred spirit to commune

with. "True, child, true," was the reply. One of the virtues specially practiced by her in those last days was humility, shown notably when she reverently received Holy Communion, which she did several times in the week, and in the penitential exclamation, uttered with bowed head: "Oh, that *I* should have *presumed* to offend the majesty of the great God!" Some time before her death her usual serenity of mind returned, and she recovered her peace of soul, receiving great consolation from the Rev. Dr. Bartholomew Russell, O. P., who paid her several visits, as did also Archbishop Cullen. Towards the close of March, 1858, she received the last sacraments, and on July 22, the feast of St. Mary Magdalen, the Viaticum, expiring about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, while her children knelt around her. In a crypt under a beautiful limestone cross in the cemetery at St. Mary's, Donnybrook, rest the remains of the foundress of the Irish Sisters of Charity.

R. F. O'CONNOR.

Cork, Ireland.

THE NEO-PAGANISM PROFESSED IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES.

THE conscience of every Christian in the land must have been shocked by the revelations recently made of the anti-Christian, anti-social and anti-American teachings scattered broadcast from certain professorial chairs of the leading non-Catholic institutions of higher learning. These revelations have been published in the columns of a reputable magazine¹ on the authority of a writer who seems to have taken pains to verify the utterances which he records. And, since these articles have remained unchallenged and uncontradicted, we should be justified in presuming that they are correct, and that they fairly represent the tone and spirit of American university teaching on religious and social subjects. But we are saved from the necessity of relying on mere report by the recent publication of the authentic utterances of a man who has been for forty years president of the foremost New England university, who may, therefore, be reasonably presumed to be well acquainted with the views on religion that obtain in the other universities, and who maintains, as the outcome of all his experience and observations, that a new religion, of which he gives the grotesque outlines, is needed and is bound to come in the near future.² Dr.

¹ See *The Cosmopolitan* for May, June, July, August, September, 1909.

² See *The Harvard Theological Review*, October, 1909, "The Religion of the Future," by Charles W. Eliot.

Eliot in his lecture puts on a certain veneering of Christian ethics, preserves a faint echo of Christian teaching, which makes his neo-paganism all the more insidious. Nor can we, indeed, be astonished at the wildly extravagant pronouncements that issue from the dry wood of the rostrums of irresponsible professors when we find that such deeply anti-Christian tenets are held and openly professed in the green wood of the respectable, supposedly conservative presidential chair of Harvard.

It would seem at first sight that the Catholic Church or a Catholic Review like ours has little or no concern with such pitiful lucubrations of unbalanced professorial minds. Catholics are nowise surprised at the erroneous utterances of those whose teachings are based on the shifting sands of religious and philosophic doubt. Nor is it to be feared that any considerable number of those who possess the faith will be influenced by the strange vagaries of the professors. Still there is no knowing how deeply and widely such poison filters. Moreover, the Church has always a duty towards the truth, of which she is the "pillar." She is bound to refute and repel error wherever she meets it, whether within or without the fold; and she has the God-given mission to safeguard and hold aloft for all men, as well as for her own members, the lamp of "the true Light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world." There is a further and very special reason why Catholics should take notice of these utterances. It arises from the fact that large numbers of Catholic young men frequent those very institutions, which, from their presidents down to their youngest professors, appear to be tainted with anti-Christian teaching. St. Paul tells us that "Faith cometh by hearing; and hearing by the word of Christ." (Romans x., 17.) Faith can also be lost by hearing, and especially by hearing doctrine so subversive of the word of Christ as that set forth in his lecture by the president emeritus of Harvard University.

It is appalling to think of the injury done to faith and morals by such teachings as those before us, set forth with all the prestige and influence of professedly learned presidents and professors. And it is a very serious question for Catholics whether they can conscientiously expose their sons or daughters to the not only faith-less but faith-destroying atmosphere of such colleges. Catholics know that there is only one answer to this question, the answer recently voiced before an admiring House of Commons by an Irish Catholic member, when he said that he would prefer his children to know the "Our Father" than all the "ologies" taught in universities. Short of sheer necessity, it is a grave responsibility for Catholic parents to expose their children to the agnostic teaching which prevails to-day in nearly every non-Catholic university. There may be, and there are, cases

where it becomes necessary for Catholic young men to avail themselves of the technical and professional schools of State endowed universities. But in such cases it behooves the parents and the Church to provide suitable antidotes, in the way of proper instruction and supervision. In this connection one cannot praise too highly the care and forethought of the Bishops who have taken means to supply proper Catholic instruction and guidance to the young men whom circumstances cause to attend secular universities. Of course, the ideal would be to have such abundance and quality of higher institutions of our own as would obviate any such necessity. And it may be said that we have them, even at present, in greater numbers and efficiency than Catholics realize. And if wealthy Catholics were only to imitate their non-Catholic social friends in generosity towards educational institutions and in *esprit de corps*, there would be no need for sitting at the feet of agnostic lecturers. This is the "consummation devoutly to be wished." Meanwhile, it is incumbent on us all to counteract, as far as we can, the mischievous doctrines of neo-paganism. This is the purpose of the following notice of Dr. Eliot's Harvard lecture on "The Religion of the Future."

Dr. Eliot's views of the "new religion" which he forecasts may best be gathered from his own words, which are to be found in the report, already referred to, of his lecture delivered at the close of the Harvard Summer School of Theology. He premises by saying that his "point of view is that of an American layman."³ And he gives as reason for broaching the subject his conviction that the varying winds of doctrine ventilated at the summer school "must surely" have made on his auditors "the general impression . . . that religion is not a fixed but a fluent thing."⁴ He bids them conclude that "the religion of a multitude of humane persons in the twentieth century may, therefore, be called, without inexcusable exaggeration, a 'new religion'—not that a single one of its doctrines and practices is really new in essence, but only that the wider acceptance and better actual application of truths familiar in the past at many times and places, but never taken to heart by the multitude, or put in force on a large scale, are new."⁵ He gives no reasons for prognosticating this new religion, nor does he say why it is to be confined to "humane" persons, excluding the "profanum vulgus" who are usually supposed to be most in need of religion. But Dr. Eliot, who, apparently, shares with the freedman poet of Rome contempt for the common people, understands, we suppose, by "a multitude of humane persons" the product of American colleges, such as

³ P. 391.⁴ P. 390.⁵ P. 390.

we see them at intercollegiate football matches. For these most people would think that it is not a new religion, but a revival of some few, at least, of the salutary truths of the old religion of Christendom that they need. Their spokesman, however, thinks that what they want and will have is a new religion, meaning thereby, as he explains, nothing new in essence, but a conglomeration of the intellectual aberrations and vaporings of human passions which have cropped up in individuals or in heretical bodies "at many times and places," and which are henceforth to be the religious pabulum, the rule of life of the "multitude of humane persons," that is, of the American educated classes, "in the twentieth century."

It is interesting to discover the negative and positive elements of this religion of the humane persons of the immediate future, such as they appear to the experienced mind's eye of the forty years president of Harvard. In reading over his *exposé* of the new religion one cannot but regret that the author seems never to have studied the "institutional Christianity," to which he contemptuously refers,⁶ especially the only true, historic form of it, the Catholic Church. Had he done so, he would know that the Christian Church has never set on high some of the idols which the new religion is to knock down, such as "the personification of the primitive forces of nature," the "worship, express or implied, of dead ancestors, teachers or rulers," nor "the identification of any human being, however majestic, with the Eternal Deity." Again, had Dr. Eliot studied Christianity, he would have learnt that what he considers as one of the chief "fnds" of the twentieth century, the indwelling of God in His rational creatures, in the sense of St. Paul's words: "In Him we live, move and have our being," has been taught and practiced in the Church from the beginning in a way which, unhappily, the ex-president wots not. But it would be too much to expect that those who speak and write so flippantly of subjects supposed to be within their immediate cognizance, as many American professors are reported to do, should study seriously the authentic doctrines of Christianity. They prefer to utter the fictions of their own minds and to surmise that their humane listeners will accept their views of what religion should and should not be. Dr. Eliot gives us a series of seven negative attributes of his new religion—a sort of *Septem Contra Thebas* attack on what he erroneously considers the Christian religion. And when he has done with this lopping off process, little remains but a skeleton God who is an essential, immanent part of humanity.

Let us now see "what," according to Dr. Eliot, "the religion of the future seems likely not to be."

⁶ P. 393.

1. "The religion of the future will not be based on authority either spiritual or temporal." The religion thus negatively described would be a contradiction in terms. For there can be no specific form of religion which is not founded on authority either human or divine. For, as the Angelic Doctor teaches, whereas the rendering due honor and reverence to God, in which religion essentially consists, is a dictate of man's natural reason, the determination of this innate impulse to one form of worship or another is the effect of human or divine institution, that is, of "authority either spiritual or temporal."⁷ The rudest form of religion among savage tribes is based on ancestral custom or on tribal enactments; the religions of the cultured pagans of Greece and Rome, of Persia and Egypt were based on state ordinances and ceremonials; the religion of the Israelites claimed to be based on divine authority, which regulated even the details of its majestic liturgy; the religion of the Christian Church, in its Catholic, Apostolic form, is based on the immediate authority of its Head, the Christ, the Son of God. But Dr. Eliot's "religion of the future will not be based on authority either spiritual or temporal." Surely this cannot be; such a religion would be based on airy nothing. And if all else fails, if every other authority, spiritual and temporal, is to be ignored, the multitude of humane persons will refer to Dr. Eliot himself, and to his fellow-professors as authorities on the scope and purport of their new religion.

2. "There will be no personification of the primitive forces of nature." It is not easy to see what the ex-president is driving at here. One would hardly think that Americans of the twentieth century, especially the "multitude of humane persons," would be at all likely to fall back on the thunder and lightning worship of the aboriginal Indians, or on the Sun worship of the Eastern peoples. However, the "personification of the forces of nature," which would lead, even indirectly, to the discovery of the Author of nature, would be far more rational than the pantheistic God, whom Dr. Eliot describes as "the modern physicist's omnipresent and exhaustless Energy."⁸

3. "There will be in the religion of the future no worship, express or implied, of dead ancestors, teachers or rulers; no more tribal, racial or tutelary gods; no identification of any human being, however majestic, with the Eternal Deity." The first two clauses of this paragraph have little interest or meaning for Christians, except, perhaps, they apply to the hero-worship of New Englanders for the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth Rock; but there is much anti-Christian venom concealed in the last clause, if we interpret Dr. Eliot's mind

⁷ 2-2, lxxxI., 2 ad 3.

⁸ P. 394.

aright. When he says that in his supposed religion of the future there will be "no identification of any human being, however majestic, with the Eternal Deity," he must be referring to the Christian worship of the God-Man, the Word Incarnate, the Redeemer of the world. Here, again, allowance must be made for the want of knowledge of the doctrine of the Incarnation which Dr. Eliot shows, in common with the ninety-nine hundredths of those outside the Catholic Church, who even profess Christianity. In the Catholic faith concerning Jesus Christ there is no "identification of a human being with the Eternal Deity." The Catholic holds that in Christ there are two natures, the human and the divine, each entirely distinct from the other, but both united in the hypostatic union of the Word, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity. There is here no identification of the human being with the Eternal Deity, but there is recognition of the fact that Christ is God and Man at the same time, that is, One in Person, and that this Person is the Second Person of the Adorable Trinity. Hence divine worship is due to Christ, as to the Eternal Deity, with whom, in His Divine Nature, He is consubstantial. Dr. Eliot is, probably, correct in his forecast that the multitude of humane persons taught by him and by his fellow agnostic professors will reject the Divinity of Christ, as, indeed, they have rejected it already. Such a doctrine as that of the mystery of the Incarnation cannot possibly subsist where revelation and authority are decried.

4. "In the religion of the future the primary object will not be the personal welfare or safety of the individual in this world or any other." Here we have a proposed communism in religion, which is far more unreasonable than the communism in goods, the economic socialism which Dr. Eliot and his humane followers would be the first to condemn. Religion is essentially a personal affair, and its immediate object must always be the spiritual welfare and safety of the individual. For the very end and purport of religion is to bind the individual soul to God, through knowledge and love, reverence and worship. The neglect of one's own salvation, the suffering the loss of one's own soul would be the negation of religion. It is true that the Anglican Bible makes St. Paul say: "I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh" (Romans ix., 3); but this is, evidently, a mis-translation and a misinterpretation of the Apostle's mind. The original Greek word is more correctly rendered by the Latin word *optabam* in the Vulgate and by the English of the Rheims version in use among Catholics—"I wished"—referring, clearly, to his former zeal in persecuting those same Christians whose religion he is now spending himself to preach. (Acts ix., 2; I. Cor. xv., 9.)

Indeed, it is in St. Paul's teaching that we find the most explicit enunciation of the truth that one's own salvation primes over every other consideration. The great preacher tells us that he chastises his body and brings it into subjection, lest, perhaps, when he has preached to others he himself should become a castaway. (I. Cor. ix., 26.) And he tells us, further, that he knows that if he have not divine charity, that is, personal union with God, his preaching would be as sounding brass, his knowledge and faith would count for nought; yea, martyrdom itself would profit him nothing. (I. Cor. xiii., 1-3.) In his touching farewell address to the Bishops of Ephesus he exhorts them to take heed to themselves first, and then only to the whole flock wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed them Bishops. (Acts xx., 28.) It is the same advice which he gives to his beloved disciple, Timothy: "Exercise thyself unto godliness. . . . Take heed to thyself." (I. Tim. iv., 7, 16.) The priority of personal sanctification over every other religious consideration is the most marked lesson to be gathered from the life of Him who said of Himself: "For them do I sanctify Myself. (John xvii., 19.) And the author of "The Imitation of Christ," who has probably best interpreted the Divine Master's teaching, expresses this truth very emphatically: "Whatever may become of others, neglect not thyself."⁹ The professedly disinterested altruism of the new religion is very pleasing on paper; but no thoughtful man can sincerely believe in its existence in fact. To hold that men, even the multitude of humane persons, will live and labor for others, with no thought of the final outcome for themselves, in this world or the next, is to ignore the facts of experience as well as the very nature of man's constitution. A learned and thoughtful university professor, Dr. Inge, of Cambridge, in a recent sermon at Westminster Abbey, well expressed this truth.

"We need not fret and fume about the future of religion or of civilization. God will see to that; but if we neglect our own souls, that little bit of work will remain undone, for no one else can do it. It is just because this kind of teaching is unpopular that I want to insist upon it. The popular preacher just now is the man who congratulates himself and his hearers that we have got rid of 'selfish individualism'—that we no longer think of saving our own souls, but of the Divine principle of human brotherhood; above all, that we have brought down religion from the clouds to rest on solid earth. I am afraid that this talk about selfish individualism is little better than mere cant. The real reason why people do not like to be exhorted to save their souls is that they are not sure whether they have souls to be saved. The real reason why a secularized Chris-

⁹ "Imit. of Christ," Book I., Chap. XXV.

tianity appeals to them is that the eternal 'things which are not seen' are not only out of sight, but out of mind. They are not really believed in. There are many clergymen now who stigmatize as 'unpractical' and 'useless' any teaching which has no immediate bearing on the bread problem. It is strange that any reader of the Gospel should think that there is anything in the world more practical than the eternal destiny of souls."¹⁰

5. "The religion of the future will not be propitiatory, sacrificial or expiatory." In elucidation of this fifth negative quality of the new religion the lecturer gives us his views of the origin and nature of religious sacrifice in words which show an entire want of knowledge of the whole subject. He regards the origin of religious sacrifice to be "the fear of the supernal powers, as represented in the awful forces of nature, in primitive society;" he refers contemptuously to the sacrifices of the Hebrews; he thinks that "the Christian Church made a great step forward when it substituted the burning of incense for the burning of bullocks and doves," but he regrets that "to this day there survives not only in the doctrine but in the practices of the Christian Church the principle of expiatory sacrifice." And, of course, he concludes that "it will be an immense advance if twentieth century Christianity can be purified from all these survivals of barbarous or semi-barbarous religious conceptions, because they imply such an unworthy idea of God."

All this means, what is more explicitly expressed elsewhere in the lecture, the total rejection of the Old Dispensation and the New, the denial of the sovereignty of God, of the dependence of the creature, of the fall of man, of the need of atonement, of the fact of the Redemption. It is not to be wondered at that those who have rejected the great Sacrifice of the New Law should logically throw overboard sacrifice altogether; but a little careful study of the Christian religion would have saved the lecturer from the error of ascribing a savage origin to the idea and practice of Christian sacrifice. Sacrifice, in its proper sense of an offering, whether of external sensible things or of the soul itself to God, to acknowledge due subjection to Him as the sovereign Creator, and to honor Him, is, as St. Thomas points out, a dictate of the natural law. Hence it has been practiced by all peoples and in all ages.¹¹ There is deep down in the mind of man, whether savage or civilized, a sense of dependence on a Superior Being, whom it is necessary to propitiate and honor by sacrifices of one kind or another. Christians hold that man needs sacrifice for three purposes—the remission of sin, the preservation of grace and the attainment of eternal bliss.¹² The sin offering, the

¹⁰ See *The Guardian*, September 8, 1909.

¹¹ 2-2, 85, 1.

¹² 3, 22, 2.

peace offering and the holocaust of the Old Law fulfilled this three-fold end of sacrifice in a partial and figurative manner; it remained for the God-Man, through the sacrifice of His human nature on the Cross on Calvary, to satisfy fully and literally the requirements of eternal justice, and at the same time secure the peace and happiness of divine grace and the means of final union with God for all mankind. For He "was delivered up for our sins" (Rom. iv., 25); "And, being consummated, He became, to all that obey Him, the cause of eternal salvation" (Hebr. v., 9); and we have "therefore, a confidence in the entering into the sanctuary by the Blood of Christ." (Hebr. x., 19.) All these effects of the Passion and Death of Christ are fully renewed and perpetuated by what Catholics know as the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.¹³ But Dr. Eliot tells us that his new religion "rejects the entire conception of man as a fallen being;"¹⁴ and that it "will magnify and laud God's love and compassion, and will not venture to state what the justice of God may or may not require of Himself (sic) or of any of his (sic) finite creatures. This will be one of the great differences between the future religion and the past."¹⁵

With the fall of man ignored and the justice of God brushed aside, there will, indeed, be no room or need in "the religion of the future for anything propitiatory, sacrificial or expiatory."¹⁶ However, in denying the fall and in shutting their eyes to the requirements of the justice of God, those "humane persons of the twentieth century" will be going counter to the beliefs and practices of all mankind, since the very dawn of creation. Even Voltaire acknowledged that "the fall of degenerate man is the foundation of the theology of all ancient nations."¹⁷ And the great naturalist, Cuvier, asks: "Could peoples, with so few relations with one another, with so little in common, in language, in religion, in morals, could they agree on this point of the fall of man if their ideas on the subject were not founded on truth?" This belief is found in the legend of *Prometheus Vincit*, as dramatized by Æschylus; it was taught by the Druids; it is believed by the Hindoos; it is found in the books of Zoroaster; and modern philological and ethnographical researches have discovered it in the ancient creeds of Yucatan, Peru and Mexico. Moreover, sane philosophy has to recognize it; for, as Pascal said in his *Pensees*, without this mystery of original sin, and the consequent fall, man would be, in his present condition, incomprehensible to himself;

¹³ Quidquid est effectus Dominicæ passionis, est effectus hujus sacramenti—St. Thomas. In Iren., 6.

¹⁴ P. 395.

¹⁵ P. 401.

¹⁶ P. 393.

¹⁷ See "L'Ami du Clerge," 4eme Serie, No. 42.

man is more unthinkable, without the light of this mystery, than the mystery itself is unthinkable to man. Indeed, no human philosophy, apart from the revelation of this mystery, could ever give any satisfactory explanation of the disorder and woe which prevail in the world. There is no other truth more important to grasp for those who sincerely wish for the embetterment of mankind. Those who ignore or reject it fashion, instead, such wild utopias as those which the new religion promises to bring in its wake.

6. "The religion of the future will not perpetuate the Hebrew anthropomorphic representations of God, conceptions which were carried in large measures into institutional Christianity. . . . The nineteenth century has made all these conceptions of Deity look archaic and crude."¹⁸ This negative statement concerning the new religion may best be refuted by the lecturer's own words a few paragraphs later on, where he says of it: "It is anthropomorphic; but what else can a human view of God's personality be? The finite can study and describe the infinite only through analogy, parallelism and simile; but that is a good way."¹⁹ So here we have what the "nineteenth century made look archaic and crude" in the Old Revelation described as "a good way" for the new religion. It would, therefore, seem that the new religion, after disrobing itself of all the old beliefs, must turn round and don again some shreds of them to cover its metaphysical nakedness.

7. "The religion of the future will not be gloomy, ascetic or maledictory. It will not deal chiefly with sorrow and death, but with joy and life. It will believe in no malignant powers, neither in Satan nor in witches."²⁰ Here we have another example of Dr. Eliot's usual method of jumbling together ideas which have nothing in common. His main purpose seems to be to contrast the glories of the new religion with the "institutional Christianity," which he derides. But he goes out of his way to bring in bits of idolatry and of savage worship, which he blends in his argument with the teachings and practices of Revealed Religion. Perhaps he is quite unconscious of the vast and vital distinctions between both; but in that case he should have left the whole subject to other hands, even to those of some other "American layman." In the passage before us he mixes belief in Satan with that in witches, and gloom and malediction with asceticism in the categories of beliefs to be rejected by the new religion. Dr. Eliot should know that no form of Christianity professes belief in witches, but that every Christian is bound to accept the very positive revelation made to us by God regarding the

¹⁸ P. 394.

¹⁹ P. 397.

²⁰ P. 394.

existence and the evil character of Satan. It is not the new religion that will drive his sable majesty out of the world, or even weaken his influence therein. Again, the lecturer ought to know that there is nothing gloomy in authentic Christianity. Peace and joy were the blessings proclaimed in the heavens at the advent of the Incarnate Word; they were the inheritance left to His own by the Founder of Christianity. (St. Luke ii., St. John xiv.) Probably the ex-president of Harvard has in mind the gloomy tenets of the New England Puritans. But whilst not gloomy or maledictory, Christianity, and, for that matter, all religion is necessarily ascetic, that is, exercising the faculties of the soul to attain their end, the knowledge and love of God, and, consequently, restraining by self-discipline and mortification the lower or animal faculties of man, which, in consequence of the disorder wrought by original sin, are constantly "warring against the spirit." Unfortunately, our lecturer does not believe in original sin or in sin of any kind. His new religion, therefore, has no use for asceticism or for repentance, since, as he tells us, "it will teach that repentance wipes out nothing in the past."²¹ This new religion is to be all joy and life, and to eschew sorrow and death. Perhaps the skilled surgeons who, it seems, are to be the priests of the new religion, will have succeeded in eliminating death altogether from human experience. This, however, is scarcely to be expected; and the multitude of humane persons of the twentieth century, as of every century before, will have to face the inevitable, as they call it. The gloom of death will flit across their joy and life and fill them with the saddest of all sadness, the pagan sadness such as runs through the writings of that most cultured votary of pleasure, Horace, whose works Newman found to be, for this reason, sad reading.²² Indeed, one of the greatest blessings of Christianity is the abiding solace and comfort which it offers to man in the presence of sorrow and death. Any form of religion, so called, which offers no supernatural balm for the wounds of sorrow and misfortune, no eternal hope beyond the dark portals of death, is utterly worthless. How different is the rôle of historic Christianity, as embodied in the Catholic Church! A distinguished university president, a convert to the Church, has quite recently set it forth in the following words, which reflect the serious frame of mind which the world has a right to expect in university trained men: "To many of us, and especially to those who have arrived at or passed the middle age, the Church stands prominently out as a consoler and helper in time of trouble. Few, indeed, have reached the 'mezzo del cammin de nostra vita' without having experienced the need of that help and sympathy

²¹ P. 393.

²² "Life and Letters of Miss Mozley."

which the Church is so well able to extend in the hour of stress and tribulation. Those who are near and dear to us are called away; friends become estranged; children disappoint; the Church is ready to pour balm into the wounds of the spirit. Misfortune and ill health dog the footsteps; the Church is there to point to a better world, where God will wipe the tears from every eye. She is there, too, to promise that when we also are called to pass 'ex umbris et imaginibus in veritatem,' she will unceasingly pray to God for us that He may give us the entry to that place of refreshment, light and peace, for which every tired spirit longs. From this point of view few of us Catholics advance any very great distance along the pathway of life without finding abundant reason for crying out, 'Thank God for our holy faith.'"²³

Compare this language of one of the foremost scientists of the day with Dr. Eliot's description of his new religion in its relations to sorrow and death. "To the wretched, sick and down trodden of the earth religion has, in the past, held out hopes of future compensation. . . . Can the future religion promise that sort of compensation for the ills of this world? . . . A candid reply to this inquiry involves the statement that in the future religion there will be nothing 'supernatural.' . . . It is obvious, therefore, that the completely natural quality of the future religion excludes from it many of the religious compensations and consolations of the past."²⁴ Thus the new religion stands self-condemned as lacking the power to supply the greatest need of suffering humanity, supernatural hope and consolation.

Having thus considered with Dr. Eliot "what the religion of the future will not be," let us now consider, with him, "what its positive elements will be." Here we are in presence of an attempt to build a great structure out of airy nothing, contrary to the dictum of that humane materialist of antiquity, Lucretius—*Nihil ex nihilo fit*. Let us see how it succeeds.

"The new thought of God," says Dr. Eliot, "will be its (the new religion's) most characteristic element. This ideal will comprehend the Jewish Jehovah, the Christian Universal Father, the modern physicist's omnipresent and exhaustless Energy and the biological conception of a Vital Force. The Infinite Spirit pervades the universe, just as the spirit of a man pervades his body, and acts consciously and unconsciously in every atom of it. The twentieth century will accept literally and implicitly St. Paul's statement, 'In

²³ Address by Dr. Bertram C. A. Windle, K. S. G., president of University College, Cork, on "The Intellectual Claims of the Catholic Church," October, 1909.

²⁴ PP. 397, 398.

Him we live, and move, and have our being,' and God is that vital atmosphere, or incessant inspiration. The new religion is therefore thoroughly monotheistic, its God being the one infinite force; but this one God is not withdrawn or removed, but indwelling, and especially dwelling in every living creature. God is so absolutely immanent in all things, animate and inanimate, that no mediation is needed between him (sic) and the least particle of his (sic) creation." We are informed that in the new religion "every man makes his own picture of God (that is, of the god to whom the new prophet refers without using capital letters). If, now, man discovers God through self-consciousness, or, in other words, if it is the human soul through which God is revealed, the race has come to the knowledge of God through knowledge of itself; and the best knowledge of God comes through knowledge of the best of the race." Here we have set forth the false doctrine of *immanence* which the Pope recently condemned in the writings of Modernists. It is a doctrine which, as we shall see, involves pantheism and must logically end in atheism. Our lecturer acknowledges, yea, boasts, that this doctrine "is fundamentally and completely inconsistent with the dualistic conception which sets spirit over against matter, good over against evil, man's wickedness against God's righteousness, and Satan against Christ. The doctrine of God's immanence is also inconsistent with the conception that He once set the universe agoing, and then withdrew, leaving the universe to be operated under physical laws, which were his vicegerents or substitutes. If God is thoroughly immanent in the entire creation, there can be no 'secondary causes' in either the material or the spiritual universe. The new religion rejects absolutely the conception that man is an alien in the world, or that God is alienated from the world. It rejects also the entire conception of man as a fallen being, hopelessly wicked, and tending downward by nature; and it makes this emphatic rejection of long accepted beliefs because it finds them all inconsistent with a humane, civilized or worthy idea of God."²⁵

In the above description of the God of the new religion we have, as elsewhere in the lecture, some expressions, such as that "man is hopelessly wicked," and that God "withdrew" from the universe which He had created, apparently set up to be easily knocked down, carrying with them in their fall some of the most fundamental beliefs of Christianity. But the main idea of the new God immanent in every creature is bluntly anti-Christian, and, if the lecturer would only reflect and acknowledge it, anti-theistic. There is a true sense, in which it must be said that God is indwelling in the universe, and especially in every living creature; there is even a still higher and

²⁵ PP. 394, 395.

closer indwelling, which, we fear, is beyond the ken of the votaries of the new religion, the indwelling of God in the souls of His elect, through divine, supernatural grace. The omnipresence of God is an elementary truth of theistic philosophy, as well as of Divine revelation. But the mode of this omnipresence is the stumbling block of modern Kantian philosophy, which is the basis of the new religion. The philosophy which the schoolmen adopted from Aristotle solves this question, like so many others, in the only way which is consonant with right reason and with Revelation. God is present in everything, since He immediately operates in everything that exists (Isaia's xvi.); but He is present not as a part of the essence of things nor as an accident, but as an agent is present in the object of His activity. Every created being is an effect caused by the uncreated, self-existing Being of God; and this effect is caused not only in the first creation of beings, but it continues as long as they continue in existence, just as light continues to be caused by the sun, as long as the atmosphere continues to be illumined. In the same manner God is present everywhere, not as filling space, but as the One who has given being to all things that are in space (Wisdom xi.). God is present in every being by His essence, as the cause is present in the effect; by His power, since all things are subject to Him, just as the sovereign supremacy obtains everywhere throughout the state; by His presence, inasmuch as all things are naked to His eye. Moreover, God is present in a special and intimate manner in the relational soul which is united to Him by knowledge and love—a union which is effected by Divine Grace alone, and which, therefore, exists only in the souls of the just.²⁶

This rational and, at the same time, Christian view and explanation of God's omnipresence is radically opposed to the doctrine of *immanence*, which, we are told, is to be the most characteristic feature of the new religion. *Immanence*, as interpreted by its supporters, from Kant down to the Harvard lecturer, means that God is present in every being, and especially in living beings as part of their essence. In other words, every being is a part of God. This doctrine makes all beings, in their several spheres, especially, of course, humane persons, so many gods. God is what their individual consciousness represents Him to be, and nothing more; their beings and lives and movements are those of God. And this is the perverse meaning they give St. Paul's words to the Athenians: "In Him we live, move and are." (Acts xvii., 28.) There is a fathomless abyss between the omnipresence of God by essence, power and presence, and between even His special presence in the souls of His elect by the knowledge and love which are the effects of His grace, and the

²⁶ St. Thomas, "Summa," 1-8-1-4; Aristotle, "Physics."

immanence which represents God as sharing His very essence with His creatures, and thereby making them, as the serpent promised Eve, "be as Gods." (Genesis, iii.)

This doctrine of the *immanence* of God in created beings, as interpreted by its votaries, is nothing more or less than rank pantheism. And pantheism dissolves logically into atheism. For cause and effect cannot co-exist; and if God shares the essence of His being with creatures, which have only participated being, He cannot at the same time be the Great First Cause, the eternally self-existing Being, which reason postulates as God; and therefore there is no God outside the creature, which means that there is no God at all. Yet this is to be the main, "the most characteristic element" of the new religion. The consequences of such a notion of God are far-reaching. It does away with all objective truth outside man's own consciousness; it rejects all revelation other than that which man develops within himself; it sweeps away all ethics and morality save what is agreeable to the individual or collection of individuals at a given time; it brings God down to the level of the creature, and makes man his own God, irresponsible save to himself. And we are told that man thus raised to the dignity of a self-conscious god, will straightway cease to be selfish, and will go out of himself to "universal love and service."²⁷ When we reach this point of Dr. Eliot's description of his new religion and new God, we are prepared for all manner of extravagant utterances regarding the beneficent effects that will follow. "It will teach a universal good-will, under the influence of which men will do their duty, and at the same time promote their happiness."²⁸ "The new religion will foster powerfully a virtue which is comparatively new in the world—the love of truth and the passion for seeking it."²⁹ "The new religion affords an indefinite scope or range for progress and development. . . . It is not bound to any dogma, creed, book or institution."³⁰ The lecturer thinks that the new religion will be "as helpful to the spirit of man" as what he calls "the *numerous deities* revered in the various Christian communions—God the Father, the Son of God, the Mother of God, the Holy Ghost and the host of tutelary saints."³¹ Fancy the deep knowledge of Christianity displayed in this last sentence by the forty years president of Harvard University! Yet it is on a par with the rubbish scattered all through the lecture. Worst of all, the lecturer winds up with what must appear to the rationalist even a gross libel on the Gospels, but what must shock the Christian

²⁷ P. 401.

²⁸ P. 402.

²⁹ P. 403.

³⁰ P. 404.

³¹ P. 403.

as a horrible blasphemy. After telling us that what he calls "the numerous deities—God the Father, the Son of God, the Mother of God, the Holy Ghost" are to be brushed aside by the religion, that its "scientific doctrine of one omnipresent Energy is fundamentally and completely inconsistent with the dualistic conception which sets spirit over against matter, good over against evil, man's wickedness against God's righteousness and Satan against Christ," that "in the future religion there will be nothing 'supernatural,'" that "its sacraments will be, not invasions of law by miracle, but the visible signs of a natural spiritual grace" (whatever that means), that "the completely natural quality of the future religion excludes from it the religious consolations of institutional Christianity," that "the future religion will not undertake to describe, or even imagine the justice of God," that "the new religion will teach no such horrible and perverse doctrines" as "the prevailing Christian conceptions of heaven and hell" which, we are told, "have hardly any more influence with educated people in these days than Olympus and Hades have"—after telling us all this, the president *emeritus* of Harvard concludes: "Finally, this twentieth-century religion is not only to be in harmony with the great secular movements of modern society, but also in essential agreement with the direct, personal teachings of Jesus, as they are reported in the Gospels. The revelation he (sic) gave to mankind thus becomes more wonderful than ever."³²

Indeed, this gloss on the Gospels and on the teachings of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is "more wonderful than ever" was conceived by gnostic or agnostic, by pagan or heretic. It is left for the forty years president of the leading American university to set forth as the only acceptable religion of humane persons the pantheism, and atheism, the self-worship and self-chosen ethics of the pagan past, and clothe them in some of the tattered garments of Christianity.

Dr. Eliot's fellow professors appear to be less squeamish about preserving even the semblance of Christian garments for their religious and ethical theories. They, if we are to believe the statements already referred to, frankly reject Christianity and all its belongings. They rejoice with far more outspoken glee at the overthrow of the beliefs of ages. In reading their rapturous onslaughts on the most cherished tenets of Christianity, one is reminded of what a great English layman, who knew something of the nature and history of Christianity, as well as of paganism, Mr. Gladstone, once wrote in comment on the anti-Christian teachings of a celebrated professor of the dechristianized Sorbonne: "I own my surprise not only at the fact but at the manner in which in this day writers, whose name is legion, unimpeached in character and abounding in talent, not only

³² P. 407.

put away from them, cast into shadow or into the very gulf of negation itself, the conception of a Deity, an active and a ruling Deity. Of this belief which has satisfied the doubts and wiped away the tears, and found guidance for the footsteps of so many a weary wanderer on earth, which among the best and greatest of our race has been so cherished by those who had it, and so longed and sought for by those who had it not, we might suppose that if at length we had discovered that it was in the light of truth untenable, that the accumulated testimony of man was worthless, and that his wisdom was but folly, yet at least the decencies of mourning would be vouchsafed to this irreparable loss. Instead of this, it is with a joy and exultation that might almost recall the frantic orgies of the Commune, that this, at least at first sight, terrific and overwhelming calamity is accepted and recorded as a gain. For those who believe that the old foundations are unshaken still, and that the fabric built upon them will look down for ages on the floating wreck of many a modern and boastful theory, it is difficult to see anything but infatuation in the destructive temperament which leads to the notion that to substitute a blind mechanism for the hand of God in the affairs of life is to enlarge the scope of remedial agency; that to dismiss the highest of all inspirations is to elevate the strain of human thought and life; and that each of us is to rejoice that our several units are to be disintegrated at death into countless millions of organism; for such, it seems, is the latest 'revelation' delivered from the fragile tripod of a modern Delphi."³³

JOHN T. MURPHY, C. S. Sp.

Cornwells, Pa.

IS MARS INHABITED?

THE question as to whether the planet Mars is actually inhabited by a race of intelligent beings is frequently brought to our notice by the press. It is a most interesting question, not only in itself, but also in the manner in which it is debated. Victory seems to be uncertain as to which side it shall award the palm, since, as is natural to human beings, each champion will generally unwittingly commit himself to an erroneous or exaggerated statement, and thus expose a weak point to the shafts of his adversary.

Professional astronomers are almost all on the negative

³³ *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1885, "The Dawn of Creation," a criti Dr. Reville's "Prolegomenes de l'Histoire des Religions."

Percival Lowell, of the Flagstaff Observatory, Arizona, is the strongest advocate of the positive side, and as he is also the best observer of Mars and has at hand a larger and better mass of actually observed facts than any other astronomer, he is in a position to assail any argument that is claimed to be based on facts.

The only safe way, therefore, to study the problem is to take Lowell's own writings, to grant his observed facts, and then to analyze his deductions and examine his arguments. It is only in this manner that the battle may be fought on even ground, for when it comes to reasoning, a recluse in his cell is on a par with the best observer.

Lowell has collected all his observed facts and expressed his ideas in two popular books, "Mars and Its Canals" and "Mars as the Abode of Life," published respectively three years and one year ago. When quoting these works I shall call them I. and II., respectively, followed by the page number. But before proceeding to review these books it will be necessary briefly to recall the principal facts concerning our sister planet as they are given in astronomical textbooks.

Mars, as we know, is the planet whose orbit is next outside the earth's. It requires 687 days, or one year and ten a half months of our reckoning, to complete its circuit about the sun. Its distance from this luminary is about fifty percent. greater than ours, so that it receives only about half as much light and heat per square mile as the earth does.

The planet itself is a globe like the earth, and is about as much flattened at the poles. It is certainly a solid, as the permanence of its surface markings proves. Its diameter is about 4,200 miles, a little more than half the earth's. Its volume is only one-seventh as much, and its surface area about twenty-eight per cent., that is to say, 100 pounds on earth would weigh only 38 pounds on Mars. It turns on its axis in 24 hours, 37 minutes, 22.67 seconds, so that its day and night are only a little longer than ours. Its equator is inclined to its orbit at very nearly the same angle that the earth's is, so that its seasons are identical with ours, except that they are about twice as long.

Mars has a very rare and transparent atmosphere. The barometer which registers a terrestrial pressure of about thirty inches at sea level would sink down to less than four inches on Mars. Human beings, therefore, like ourselves could evidently not exist there. This is admitted by all. This rare atmosphere is seldom obscured by clouds, and these clouds are rather dust than water vapor. On account of this wonderful transparency of its atmosphere, combined with the fact that when Mars is nearest the earth it turns a fully

illuminated disk towards us, it is that we are enabled to see so many details upon its surface.

Three kinds of surface features are generally distinguished upon Mars. The first are the white patches about the poles, which are formed during the winter and disappear during the summer. The second are patches of bluish gray or green, and the third are extensive regions of various shades of orange and yellow. While the first are still supposed by many to be snow and ice, the second were for a long time taken to be water and the third land, but modern observations have shown that the famous canal system to be mentioned later traverses both regions indiscriminately, and that therefore this division must be abandoned.

Lowell maintains that the green portions are vegetation (II., 106), and that the orange ones are deserts, and that these latter cover five-eighths of its surface (II., 186). Mars, he says (II., 142), "is a world-wide desert, where fertile spots are the exception, not the rule, and where water everywhere is scarce. So scanty is this organic essential that over the greater part of the surface there is none to quicken vegetation or to support life." And (II., 144): "Untraversable without water to organic life, and uninhabitable, the Sahara cuts off completely the planet's hemispheres from each other, barring surface commerce by sundering its supplies." Mars' water supply, he estimates (II., 141) as 1-189,000 as much as the earth's.

Owing to the low barometric pressure on Mars, water would boil (II., 40) at about 110 degrees Fahrenheit. It would for the same reason rapidly evaporate. It must, therefore, if it exists at all, be found to some extent in the atmosphere of Mars and be visible in our spectroscopes. Whether this is the case or not is at present under discussion, and scientific journals abound in statements made by the opposing parties. As our own terrestrial atmosphere contains water vapor in ever varying quantities, we must ascend to the top of a high mountain in order to look through the least possible amount of air and vapor. Then by pointing the spectroscope successively to Mars and our moon at equal altitudes, we have a standard of comparison, because the moon is known to have only a most insignificant amount of water vapor on its surface, if it has any at all. Lowell maintains that under these conditions Mars shows the band of water vapor in its spectrum much more intensely than the moon, while Campbell, the director of the Lick Observatory, cannot see any difference.

Mars has no mountains. If any existed, they would be easily seen at the terminator, the sunrise or sunset circle, where they would cast conspicuous shadows, as they do on the moon, which for that reason is such an interesting object even in small telescopes. "Altitude

must therefore be a negligible factor in Martian surface meteorological phenomena. Both density and temperature can be but little affected by such cause." (I. 63.)

Owing to the rarity of the air and the general absence of clouds, "insolation on Mars is more of a factor than with us" (I. 79). Hence during the long days of summer, which itself is about twice as long as ours, heat may accumulate to a considerable extent in spite of the rarity of the atmosphere. This is a point well taken by Lowell. There may, therefore, be sufficient heat for the support of life, which the equally long and extremely cold winter would only cause to hibernate without destroying. (II., 187.) "The Martian climate is one of extremes. . . . In summer and during the day it must be decidedly hot, certainly well above any possible freezing. . . . The maximum temperature, therefore, cannot be low. The minimum, of course is. . . . Organic life is not in the least debarred from finding itself there." (I. 380.)

And in reference to observations that he has himself made on the top of the San Francisco mountains near his observatory at Flagstaff, Arizona, Lowell says (II. 96) that "the fact of a few warm weeks made life possible, outweighing the impossibility of all the other long, cold, forbidding months."

He claims that "the mean temperature of the surface air of Mars should be about 48 degrees F.; . . . that of the earth is only 60 degrees F." (II. 86.) Here, however, he is at variance with Poynting (*Monthly Weather Review*, November, 1904) and the generality of astronomers, who say that the four terrestrial planets, Mercury, Venus, Earth and Mars, part with the sun's heat by radiation into space as fast as they receive it, and that therefore their surfaces must be at a constant mean temperature. This temperature is for the earth about 62 degrees F., and for Mars 36 degrees below zero. With such a low average temperature it is hard to see how life could endure. However, Lowell remarks (II., 103) that "man can endure 70 degrees below zero F. if the air is still, but perish at 40 degrees below under the least wind. Even a breeze, therefore, is equivalent to a fall of 30 degrees F. in the temperature." The rarity of the Martian atmosphere precludes the possibility of violent winds, and in so far favors the existence of life.

Nor is this rarity of the Martian atmosphere such an essential bar to life as is generally supposed. "Another point the presence of the animals on the San Francisco Mountains serves to bring out—their indifference to thinness of the air." (II. 96.) Lowell says that the species of deer, bear and other animals are the same at 10,000 feet elevation, where the barometer is only 18 inches, as they are at sea level, with 30 inches. In the same way meadow larks at 8,000

feet in Colorado are the same as at 2,000 feet in Kansas. Moreover, many of these animals migrate semi-annually from the top of the mountains to the bottom or the reverse with the change of the seasons. And even men adapt themselves to live at various heights. The thinness of the air on Mars is consequently no obstacle to the existence of animal and much less of vegetable life.

The absence of mountains on Mars increases the probability of life. "That we do not find animal and vegetable life at the tops of our highest mountains" (II., 103) is because they are isolated peaks separated by impassable gulfs. This hindrance does not exist on Mars. These, we must admit, are points in which Lowell reasons well.

What shall we say of the polar caps of Mars, which grow during the winter and diminish during the summer? The northern cap diminishes from 78 degrees to 6 degrees, and the southern one from 96 degrees to nothing (II., 114), while on earth the north polar cap is never less than 20 degrees or 30 degrees, and the southern 38 degrees (I. 42). Lowell maintains these caps to be ice and snow. "As the north polar cap melts, there comes a season when an indefinite pearly appearance fringes its edge, obliterating its contours, which before were sharp. This persists for some weeks, off and on, and when at last it clears, the cap is seen reduced to its least extent. That it is mist caused by the melting of the cap there is little doubt." (II., 136.) This mist, he says (II., 82), is a blue belt and proclaims the presence of a liquid. "The substance composing the caps was therefore snow. For no other that we know of dons their snowy aspect with change of state."

The late Simon Newcomb said in the *Monthly Weather Review* for October, 1908. "For snowfall substitute frost fall; instead of feet or inches say fractions of a millimeter, and instead of storms or wind substitute little motions of an air thinner than on the top of the Himalayas, and we shall have a general description of Martian meteorology." The polar caps he maintains to be hoar frost. Even at the equator the sun cannot melt more than one or two inches of ice in a day, and this freezes at once over night. Snow and ice evaporate at all temperatures; this explains the shrinkage of the caps. A planet radiates as much heat as it receives; air blankets very little.

Lowell maintains (II., 140) that owing to the peculiar topography of Mars "moisture would proceed poleward, to remain there." The sun's heat and the rare atmosphere would evaporate the water wherever it existed. At the poles there would be evaporation only in the summer time, while during the winter the moisture from other regions would distill over and be precipitated there. The water, he says, is returned to the equatorial and other zones by artificial means, as we shall see later.

He claims that the polar caps cannot be carbonic acid, as some have maintained, because although this when frozen is as white as snow, it changes from the solid to the gaseous state without passing through the liquid state. Now the polar caps of Mars are always fringed with a deep blue line, which cannot be anything else but water. (I., 39.)

This fine blue line fringing the caps seems to be Lowell's only real argument for proving the presence of water on Mars. It is a rather slender thread to support such a weighty conclusion. It is needless to say that he is alone in this contention.

And as water vapor is there, Lowell infers that therefore the less volatile gases—nitrogen, oxygen and carbonic acid—must be there also (II., 104). As all these gases, which are the constituents of our own atmosphere, found their presence on Mars ultimately on the fine blue line which fringes the polar caps, and which Lowell is the only one to have seen, the argument is rather weak and unconvincing. The direct spectroscopic proof of the presence of oxygen in the atmosphere of Mars, which Lowell claims recently to have obtained, still awaits confirmation.

We come now to the most interesting part of Arean topography—the famous canal system. Here we must trust Lowell almost implicitly, since no other person has ever been able, even with superior optical power, to see as much as he has depicted. The keenness of his eyesight, as well as his assiduity, are truly marvelous. According to Lowell the canals cover the whole surface of the planet (II., 194). They are extremely fine lines, almost entirely beyond the visibility of most observers. They run in arcs of great circles, that is, to use an unmathematical term, they are perfectly straight. Their smallest width is about one mile (I., 181), and as to length, 2,000 miles is common; many exceed 2,500; one is 3,540 miles long (I., 183). This is one-third of a circumference (I., 183), or, rather, only one-fourth (II., 150), and as long comparatively as if it extended on earth from London to Denver, or from Boston to Behring Strait. They are to be found in all latitudes, longitudes and directions (I., 190). They are, however, visible only during the summer; they “hibernate” (I., chap. xxv.) and disappear during the winter (II., 197).

But the most wonderful feature of these canals is their gemination or doubling, two fine lines being perfectly parallel and equidistant throughout their whole length. Lowell estimates an average double canal to be about 2,250 miles long, each one being 20 miles wide and 130 miles from its fellow (I., 206). Out of the 437 canals (II., 151) on Mars only 51 have been seen double (I., 208; II., 159). He says that this gemination is seasonal (I., 212), and that doubles are an

equatorial (I., 239) or tropical (II., 163) feature, since they are practically confined within 40 degrees of the equator, and that beyond 63 degrees north and 35 degrees south there are none at all. And all except one are confined to the light colored regions of the planet (II., 163). That these canals, single and double as well, are no optical illusion, but exist in reality, is now admitted by all, because they have actually been photographed (I., 277).

Intimately connected with the canals are the so-called oases, which are to be found only at their junctions (II., 195). There are seldom less than six canals to meet in an oasis (II., 194), and in one case (II., 157) there are 17. The oases are always true circles (II., 197). They vary in size from 20 to 75 or 100 miles (I., 253, 332). About 186 oases have been counted (II., 157).

We are now in a condition to consider Lowell's arguments for the presence of intellectual life on Mars. They are twofold—a priori and a posteriori.

The a priori argument he states boldly (II., 39): "From all we have learned of its constitution on the one hand, or of its distribution on the other, we know life to be as inevitable a phase of planetary evolution as is quartz, or felspar, or nitrogenous soil. Life . . . is only a manifestation of chemical affinity." And (II., 36): "There is now no more reason to doubt that plants grew out of chemical affinity than to doubt that stones did. . . . Spontaneous generation is as certain as spontaneous variation, of which it is, in fact, only an expression." And he proves it by the case of our own earth (II., 66): "Life did not reach this earth from without. No fanciful meteorite bore it the seeds which have since sprouted and overrun its surface." "The proof that life was here spontaneously evolved appears at every stage of its history. . . . Until the conditions were such as could support life, no life appeared. This is the first coincidence. . . . As soon as this (the land) was suitable, plants appeared to take possession of it." (II., 67.) "The last of this procession of coincidences, man, came on the scene at the time when the cooling of the globe rendered his own extension possible at the least expense to himself. . . . Thus all along the line we perceive that life and its domicile arose together." (II., 69.) He paints a graphic scene in this evolution (II., 53): "Then came the exodus from the sea. We may picture some adventurous fish, spurred blindly from within, essaying the shore in preference to the main. . . . Finding the littoral not inhospitable, the pioneer reported his exploit and was followed by others whom mutation had specially endowed. . . . From this aboriginal crawling out upon terra firma the organism progressed until finally it came to stand erect and call itself a man."

Let me conclude Lowell's *a priori* reasoning with the strongest of his arguments (II., 39): "For proof of the continuity of the processes of both structure and change in the inorganic and organic alike, nothing at once more conclusive and more interesting can be recommended than the books of the great Haeckel." What an unfortunate reliance upon a man who has been forced to acknowledge that he has committed downright forgeries. Poor Lowell! When it comes to philosophic reasoning he is as much out of his element as his adventurous fish. As an able and persevering observer of facts he is unsurpassed. If he would only confine himself to his main and not essay the shore. It is evident that he is a rank materialist. In the two books under review there is not the least direct or indirect reference to a Creator. The word "providentially" occurs once (II., 211), and must have been an oversight; at all events it has no Christian meaning. Nature with a capital N is his god.

In his *a posteriori* arguments Lowell is more at home, and it is difficult and at times impossible to refute his contentions on account of his vast store of actually observed facts. Nor does the writer of these lines arrogate to himself such superior wisdom. His object is rather to present the question fairly and let the reader judge for himself.

Lowell says (II., 187) there are two most essential prerequisites to habitability, water and warmth. There is water in the polar snows, and there is also heat enough for life. Neither of these two is granted by astronomers. The presence of water has not yet been proved. That the requisite amount of heat is there can be claimed only by mathematical inference; it is certainly no fact of observation.

Vegetable life can reveal itself directly (II., 188) by the coloring it imparts. Such color effects actually exist on Mars (II., 106). This astronomers are willing to concede, although most of them would grant only the lower and creeping forms of vegetation, as W. Pickering claims for parts of the moon. But animal life can reveal itself only indirectly (II., 188), not by its body, but by its mind, by the imprint it has made on the face of Mars. "Already has man begun to leave his mark on this his globe in deforestation, in canalization, in communication. . . . But the time is coming when the earth will bear his imprint and his alone. What he chooses will survive; what he pleases will lapse, and the landscape itself become the carved object of his handiwork." (II., 109.) That this is true to the extent that the results may be seen from other planets is open to objection. Let us, however, grant it. Now, Mars bears such an imprint in his canal and oasis system. "That the canals and oases are of artificial origin," says Lowell (I., 366), "is suggested by their very look." And (I., 376) "that Mars is inhabited by beings of

some sort or other we may consider as certain as it is uncertain what those beings may be."

And then he gives eight reasons to prove that the canals are the work of intelligent beings (I., 368, 369): "1. Their straightness. 2. Their individually uniform size. 3. Their extreme tenuity. 4. The dual character of some of them. 5. Their position with regard to the planet's fundamental features. 6. Their relation to the oases. 7. The character of these spots. 8. The systematic networking by both canals and spots of the whole surface of the planet."

He says the canals cannot be natural features. They cannot be rivers or cracks, because they are of uniform size and straight (I., 186; II., 191). Nor are they meteor welts (II., 194), that is, the scarred furrows made by glancing meteors, as Wallace oddly maintains.

Lowell's ingenious theory is that the scanty moisture is precipitated only at the poles during the winter time, where naturally it ought to remain (II., 202). It is diligently gathered there by the Martians, who value it at an immense price on account of its great scarcity, pump it in covered pipes to the oases all over the planet, even across the equator to the other hemisphere, and dole it out for irrigation purposes along the canals and oases, which latter are the centres of population (II., 213). He says that the fine lines we see are not canals in our terrestrial use of the word, but narrow strips of land irrigated by these concealed pipes and covered with verdure. The increase of the visibility of the canals, or their apparent swelling, in spring and summer, shows him the progress of the irrigation, and tells him that the water travels 51 miles a day, or 2.1 miles an hour (I., 375). He says the speed is remarkably uniform (I., 375).

He admires the "intelligent and non-bellicose character of the community which could thus act as a unit throughout its globe" (I., 377). War "is something a people outgrow. . . . Whether increasing common sense or increasing necessity, . . . we cannot say, but it is certain that they reached it, and equally certain that if they had not they must all die" (I., 377). "In an aging world . . . mentality must characterize more and more its beings in order for them to survive" (I., 382). And he ends with the prophesy that in Mars we see the future of the earth (I., 384).

The fundamental assumption of Lowell's ingenious theory is that Mars is much older than the earth. This is entirely gratuitous. It is an essential phase of the now rejected nebular hypothesis of Laplace. Nor do geologists accept the proof he bases on the widespread deserts of Mars, when he claims that deserts are a result of planetary evolution (I., chap. xiii.); that the oceans have diminished and the continents have increased in area on the earth (I., chap. xii.).

That Mars should age faster than the earth because it is smaller and must therefore have had a lesser sum total of the original supply of heat which all planets are losing rapidly, is another gratuitous assumption, since, as was said before, the mean temperatures of the four terrestrial planets are generally supposed to be constant, the sun supplying them with heat just as fast as they are losing it by radiation into space.

The *Scientific American Supplement*, No. 1764, reprints an article from the New York *Sun*, in which the question of the water supply of Mars is well discussed. It says: "It is argued that if the Martian atmosphere was so rich in aqueous vapor as to form these vast polar areas of ice, it would be so rich that, under any comprehensible theory of connection and atmospheric circulation, it would be impossible for it to be so arid in its equatorial and midway regions as to call for any system of irrigation at all.

"Furthermore, in opposition to the canal theory, it is held that if it really be ice at the polar caps, and knowing as we do the number of thermal units effective when the sun returns to shine upon each cap after its winter night, we cannot account for the rapidity with which the cap disappears in the sunlight. It vanishes with such speed that some observers have spoken of it as almost an evaporation, some such process as in the physics of the terrestrial atmosphere is observable in the warm Chinook winds of our northern Rocky Mountains, where whole fields of snow vanish as if dried up, the same phenomenon on the European Continent being equally familiar as the Foen of the Alps.

"So rapid is the disappearance of the bright spots in the circum-polar region when the sun dawns upon it, that it is too rapid even to admit of the inference that it is only snow. It is said that nothing but hoar frost will at all answer the conditions observed. If the Martian atmosphere has so little vapor of water that its maximum polar deposits amount to no more than frost, it is clear that the evaporation constant must be so high that no canal could possibly carry the collection of drops from a region of melting rime as far as the equator of a planet as great as our own, or beyond the equator into the cold atmosphere, as the theoretical conditions demand.

"This dilemma may thus be stated. If the water vapor in the Martian atmosphere is sufficient in amount to yield an ice cap at the polar bright spots, the tension over the rest of the planet must be such that canals will not be needed because of a sufficient precipitation; if the water vapor content is so slight that the polar caps are nothing but frost, no amount of engineering skill could cope with the tension which would evaporate whatever water may have started in the canals."

Coming back now to the character of the canals, their straightness, uniformity and tenuity may perhaps be consistent with their being true cracks, whose irregularities cannot be distinguished at this distance, since the canals are generally beyond the powers of visibility of even skilled observers, even when provided with larger telescopes than Lowell's 24-inch. In fact, in a recent number of the *Astronomische Nachrichten*, A. N. 4348, Baumann maintains that they are cracks in icy oceans. He says the ice drifts and packs may extend in perfect straight lines from one oasis to another. Should the drift come from both sides, a double canal may result, whose interior space may be smooth ice. The oases, he says, are volcanoes which cause the cracks, and which while abounding on the greater earth and lesser moon, ought reasonably be supposed to abound also on the intermediate Mars. The varying coloring of the surface he ascribes to creeping plants, which get their moisture from the hoar frost which is deposited during the night and melted during the day. Or it may be owing to volcanic dust, which changes its color with moisture or heat. This explanation seems to fit most, if not all, of Lowell's observed facts. It is possible, however, that it may meet the fate of previous interpretations of the canal system, as Lowell may find some facts to contradict it. In this wise the merry battle goes on.

It would be rash to pretend to be able to answer every one of Lowell's a posteriori arguments. This no one has yet succeeded in doing. All we can say at present is that Lowell's proofs of the actual occupation of Mars by intelligent beings are judged by astronomers generally as entirely insufficient. Lowell is a most assiduous observer and the greatest living authority on Martian matters, and as he is also an eminent mathematician, it is a hazardous venture to attack him on observed facts or mathematical deductions. We must, for the present at least, grant all the facts he adduces, and then contend with him on their interpretation. His interpretation of the canal system is surely original and ingenious. It seems to fit all his facts, as far as we can see. But as most of these facts are furnished by him alone, that does not establish it on a sufficiently firm basis. The whole scheme is rendered somewhat doubtful by the fact that he has seen similar markings on Mercury and Venus. It is not likely a priori that all these planets have similar constitutions, since they are at such different distances from the sun and receive such different supplies of heat.

Here we must leave the subject for the present until further facts are discovered or further interpretations devised.

WILLIAM F. RIGGE, S. J.

THE CHRIST OF HISTORY AND THE CHRIST OF FAITH.

II.

IT HAS been seen in a former article* that in order to rescue the truths of Christianity from what he regarded as the destructive effects of modern criticism, the modernist deemed it necessary to transfer bodily all the truths of faith in general and the divinity of Christ in particular from the realm of history to the region of faith, where alone they could be properly safeguarded from all attempts at molestation on the part of the terrible "la critique." While in that article we have said that the modernist has given no reason for this extraordinary procedure, this is to be understood in the sense that, first, he has given us no reason that is of any value, and, secondly, that it was not because he found himself compelled by the force of reasons which he found irresistible that he was led to make the transfer, nay, rather was it the exact contrary; that is to say, that he first cast about for a new means of safety for the truths of faith; that in his terror and desperation he invented the transfer as a haphazard measure; that it was with the utmost hesitation and timidity he ventured to suggest it, and that it was afterwards he set to work to devise reasons which he hoped might have at least a sufficient semblance of plausibility to justify the extraordinary proceeding.

It is the purpose of this article to inquire into the nature and merits of these reasons.

Criticism, the modernist tells us, has forced him to make a distinction between one or two elements in the Gospels, one corresponding to the historical reality, the other corresponding to the supernatural truth of faith. Here are his own words:

"Ainsi, de la nature des Evangiles, telle que nous la revele la critique, il resulte qu'il faut distinguer un ou deux elements, l'un correspondant a la realite historique, l'autre a la verite surnaturelle de la foi."

These two truths (the modernist does not call them classes of truth) belong, he tells us, to two different orders—the truth of history to the sensible and natural order, the truth of faith to the supersensible and supernatural order. Consequently these two truths (meaning evidently these two classes of truth) require different orders of knowledge; the truth of history can be established by means of sensible experience, while for the knowledge of faith, sensible experience, while it may be useful, does not suffice; the knowledge of faith requires a supernatural light. But let the modernist speak for himself:

* *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, July, 1909.

"Pour nous," we are told, "la verite de l'histoire est aussi grand que la verite de la foi, mais ces deux verites appartiennent a deux ordres differents, la verite de l'histoire a l'ordre sensible et naturel, la verite de la foi a l'ordre suprasensible et surnaturel. C'est pour cela que les deux verites exigent aussi un ordre different de connaissance; la verite historique peut etre constatee par le moyen de l'experience sensible, tandis que pour la connaissance de la foi, l'experience sensible, qui peut etre un moyen utile, ne suffit pas; elle demande une lumiere surnaturelle."

Having laid down this broad fallacious principle, the modernist proceeds to apply it to what, with a slight flavor of sarcasm directed against the encyclical "*Pascendi Dominici Gregis*," he designates "the criminal distinction between the Christ of history and the Christ of faith."

"Appliquons tout ceci," he tells us, "a la distinction incriminee entre le Christ de l'histoire et le Christ de la foi. Le Christ est un par lui meme, mais il peut etre considere comme objet de l'histoire et comme objet de la foi. Comme homme, la personne de Jesus et ses actions exterieures etaient connues par le moyen de l'experience sensible et en ce sens il apparitient a l'histoire; comme Christ, c'est-a-dire en tant qu'uni a Dieu d'une maniere tres particuliere et en tant qu'intermediaire entre Dieu et nous de la revelation et des graces divines, il ne peut etre connu que par une lumiere spirituelle et divine, et en ce sens il n'appartient pas a l'histoire, mais a la foi."

That is to say: Christ is one, but He can be considered as an object of history and as an object of faith. As man the person of Jesus and His exterior actions were known by means of sensible experience, and in this sense they pertain to history; as Christ, that is to say, in so far as He is united to God in a particular manner and in so far as He is the intermediary between God and us both of revelation and divine grace, He can be known only by a spiritual and divine light, and in this sense He pertains not to history, but to faith.

And the modernist attempts to confirm this extraordinary statement by assuring us that Christ Himself made this selfsame distinction.

"Lorsque Pierre," he adds, "reflechissant sur les oeuvres et les paroles de Jesus conclut qu'il etait le Christ, le fils de Dieu, il merita de s'entendre dire: *caro et sanguis non revelavit tibi sed pater meus qui in coelis est*; ce qui dans le quatrieme Evangile s'etend a tout croyant: *nemo venit ad me nisi Pater qui misit me traxerit eum*. C'est l'histoire qui entend la revelation de la chair et du sang, la foi seule entend la revelation du Pere."

That is to say: While Peter, reflecting upon the works and words of Jesus concluded that He was the Christ, the Son of God, he

merited to hear: flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven; (an expression) which in the fourth Gospel is extended to every believer: no one can come to me unless the Father who sent me draw him. By the revelation of flesh and blood is meant history, by the revelation of flesh and blood is meant faith alone."

Such is the first reason without omission of a single word or syllable for the famous distinction. The utterances of a Delphian oracle are not more curt or brief. The military despatches of Cæsar are not more destitute of exposition. We sometimes meet men in the world who assume an air of magisterial authority and peremptory command, who imagine that their every word is an imperial ukase, and who seem to imagine that to doubt or question their statements is high treason against supreme authority. And we have also found that in proportion as the aid was peremptory and the tone of authority uncompromising and dictatorial, were the fallacies sure to multiply, the logic to become tainted and the shallowness to approach the mark of clear transparency. The lofty tone of unquestionable infallibility is no exception. Let us examine this first reason.

We are told that "As man, the person of Jesus and His actions were known by means of sensible experience, and in this sense He belongs to history;" but let that pass for the present. Next we are informed that "As Christ, that is to say, in so far as He is united to God in a very particular manner and inasmuch as He is the intermediary between God and us of revelation and of divine grace, He can be known only by a spiritual and divine light, and in this sense He belongs not to history, but to faith." Of course, the answer to all this sage observation and superior wisdom is very plain and very simple. The Christ of faith may not, indeed, be accepted as such unless by means of the supernatural light of faith, but this does not mean that He cannot by other means even as the Christ of faith. Indeed, it is difficult to believe that the modernist has been able to impose upon himself by this flimsy sophistry. Every tyro in logic, to say nothing of apologetics, is well aware of the proper distinction to be made here, nay, which at once forces itself on the properly trained intellect. To know *how* a thing is so is one thing and belongs to one order of knowledge; to know *that* a thing is so is quite another thing and belongs to a totally different order of knowledge. It is one thing to know *that there exists* a union between Christ and God; it is quite another thing to know *what is the nature* of this union. The former can be known by means of logical deductions drawn from sensible experience, the latter can be known only by faith; and even by faith not at all adequately. That Christ *is the mediator* between God and us and the intermediary of a divine revel-

ation and of divine grace can be proved conclusively to a mind open to conviction, by logical deduction from His earthly history, and has been so proved more than a hundred thousand times; *how He is* such an intermediary cannot be shown from history or from sensible experience or from logical deduction, or even adequately from faith; and if the modernist intends to convey that the notion that as such He can be known—which really seems to be the case—he asserts what he cannot maintain at the bar of human reason. But the Christ is “united to God,” and that He is God can be shown from the facts of history. Nothing is simpler or more easy to grasp than this distinction. In the sphere of the natural nothing is more common than the experience which proves to us conclusively that there are instances without number where we can form no conception of the *how* of natural phenomena, while at the same time we are equally convinced that these phenomena do *occur*. That the corn grows, that the oak is contained in the acorn, that nature dies in the winter and is revitalized in the spring—all these are facts so palpable that they force themselves daily upon us; how these things are so we are utterly ignorant of, and all man’s ingenuity has never been able to detect the secret. That one single force or power, electricity, at once carries our messages around the globe, brings the voices of distant friends within earshot, illuminates our streets so as to turn night into day, takes the place of pack horses and beasts of burden, supplants steam in ease of carrying power, gives health back to the sick and at the same time takes the place of hangman and the headsman and writes in zigzag lines of fire across the face of the black storm cloud—that *it does all this* and a thousand other astonishing things besides is known by every child of this generation; *how it* does it an absolute mystery. Shall we therefore relegate electricity to the realm of the unknowable? Shall we bar and ban it from the realm of knowledge and history? Not at all. While we know not how it accomplishes such wonderful results, we are certain that it does accomplish them; and if we may institute an analogy between things natural and things supernatural, we may say that, just in the same way, while we do not know adequately how Jesus of Nazareth was really God, we know beyond cavil that He was God. Indeed, so conclusive is the evidence of it, that the modernist and the agnostic dare not face it to disprove it, and are forced to resort to the stratagem of excluding it from court altogether, so overwhelmingly conclusive do they find the evidence in favor of it. Neither the modernist, nor the agnostic, nor the rationalist dares to attempt to overthrow the evidence; so inviolable, so unassailable, so impregnable is it. Hence the first reason which the modernist gives for his impious distinction between the Christ of history and the Christ of faith is

of no value whatever. When he says that "as Christ," that is to say, "as He is united to God in a mysterious way and is the intermediary between God and man of revelation and of divine grace, He can be known only by faith," he forgets to distinguish between two things essentially different. How He is all this, we certainly cannot know because we cannot grasp the divine in meaning and essence; but the proof that Christ is all this comes entirely within the limits of man's feeble powers. It depends on the conclusiveness of the evidence. Nor must the modernist make the mistake of supposing that the knowledge that Christ is all this constitutes faith. It does nothing of the kind. The reason may be convinced, there may be even a reluctant assent on the part of the intellect, and still the act of faith may be wanting. For this divine grace is required. The conviction of reason may constitute what St. Thomas would probably call the preamble of faith; but it is not faith, though it may be conviction. It is knowledge, however; and it is knowledge obtained without the intervention of faith at all—knowledge which is the result of our reasoning from purely sensible facts; that is to say, from the external facts that came under sensible experience and have become history. Hence his first reason for the famous distinction is merely an attempt to deceive himself, on the part of the modernist. It is not likely to impose on any one else.

What the modernist wishes to do is—out of deference to the agnostic—to eliminate the supernatural from the life of Christ altogether. And in order to do this he is forced to divide Christ into two personalities, the one the Christ of faith, the other the Christ of history; or, to use his own expression, the one "Christ the man," with every vestige of the supernatural eliminated; the other "the Christ united to God," in whom the supernatural is tolerated. But this is Nestorianism pure and simple. It takes the human in Christ and treats it as if it had a separate and independent existence—so separate and independent, indeed, that it has a history of its own and is the only Christ known to history. It is the human nature separated from the divine, or, to use the modernist's phrase, from the superhuman; and, of course, since as such it could have no existence without a personality, it follows that there was also a human person in Christ; for, according to the modernist, this alone could be the object of sensible experience. Is the modernist prepared for this conclusion? The human nature could become an object of sensible experience only as subsisting in a personality; but as the modernist denies that a divine personality could be an object of sensible experience, it follows necessarily that the personality which came under sensible experience must have been a human personality. Hence "*comme homme*" we have a human person in Christ, and

"comme Christ" as united to God we have a divine personality, and consequently we have two persons in Christ, the human and divine—if the modernist's position has any meaning at all. We doubt whether the modernist will wish to stand by this inevitable conclusion from his premises. Faith has, indeed, learned to distinguish between the human and the divine nature in the divine personality of Christ, and reason confirms the teachings of faith; but neither faith, nor reason, nor history has given any distinction of persons in the Godman. The modernist has no other source of information regarding Christ the man—as he styles Him—than the Gospels. Here and here alone he obtains all his information concerning the words, the works, the life of Christ. Most of the works are of a superhuman character.

The modernist seems to forget that a supernatural fact can be presented to us otherwise than by the light of faith. For the full acceptance as believers of the supernatural truth faith is indeed necessary; but the facts as phenomena must come under the senses, and consequently the mind can know them and pass judgment about them as sensible phenomena. The senses may not, indeed bring us to a full knowledge of their true import, but they can be known by the senses. An example of this is furnished in the passage which tells us that doubting Thomas was convinced of a supernatural fact by the use of his senses when, after beholding the print of the nails and putting his hand into the side of the risen Christ, he exclaimed: "My Lord and my God!" The modernist will, of course, reject the resurrection, but how consistently he acts when rejecting one part of the Scriptures while approving of another we shall see presently.

The depth of the modernist intellect receives its best demonstration from the passage which he quotes from the Gospels to prove the truth of his contention, but which actually proves the opposite. As already quoted, he would have us believe that in the famous passage where our Lord rewarded the faith of Peter when He said to him, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah, because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but My Father who is in heaven," Christ actually made the distinction—which the modernist tries to make—between the truth of history and the truth of faith. The modernist would persuade us that the intention of Christ was to say that the expression "flesh and blood" meant the truth of history, while "the revelation of the Father" meant the truth of faith. "C'est l'histoire," he tells us, "qui entend le revelation de la chair et du sang, la foi seule entend la revelation du Pere." Indeed, here again it is melancholy to see the ingenuity with which men strive to dupe their own intellects. In this instance the modernist deliberately shuts his eyes against the palpable truth of even his own words. For what led Peter to the knowledge which forced from him the declaration,

"Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God?" Was it primarily originated by faith? Was it the same direct supernatural inspiration of faith from heaven which illumined the mind of Paul on the road to Damascus? Were there no sensible phenomena on which Peter based his conclusions—no sensible experiences which suggested to him the notion that Christ was more than a mere man? The modernist himself answers the question. Evidently wholly unconscious of the fact that their plain meaning cancels his entire contention, the modernist tells us in language which there is no mistaking that the knowledge and declaration of Peter were primarily founded on facts of his own sensible experience. "While Peter *reflecting*," he tells us, "*on the works and words of Christ concludes* that He is Christ, the Son of God, he merited to hear: 'Flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but My Father who is in heaven.'" Consequently according to the modernist himself, Christ as united to God could be known by means of sensible experience, "*Lorsque reflechissant sur les oeuvres et les paroles de Jesus conclut qu'il etait le Christ, le fils de Dieu.*" Consequently it was by reflection on the works and words of Jesus that Peter arrived at the conclusion that He was the Christ, the Son of God; the very thing which the modernist is laboring (in this selfsame passage) to prove impossible. The modernist is evidently incapable of grasping the meaning of his own terms. He is arguing that Christ ascribes Peter's knowledge wholly to faith; yet in the very terms in which he couches his argument he flatly contradicts (without seeming to notice the contradiction at all) his own conclusion by telling us that Peter arrived at his conviction, not by faith, but by reflection on the works and words of Christ. In other words, he would persuade us that Christ intended to show that Peter's knowledge sprang from faith alone, while he himself declares in unmistakable language that Peter's knowledge was the result of reflection on his sensible experience. The thesis of the modernist was to prove that Christ as God could not be known to history at all; and here he proves that Christ as God is actually known to history. Such is the logical acumen of the men who have gratuitously undertaken the task of enlightening the rest of the world. We doubt if in the history of recoiling logic there could be found another instance in which the argument proves so conclusively the truth of the doctrine it was intended to demolish. Doubtless the true interpretation of the passage is that Peter's faith was based on the conclusions drawn from the words and works of Christ, and that to the faith of Peter these were the preamble. His gift of faith was undoubtedly the light of divine grace, but it was not a blind faith. It was founded on logical deductions drawn from the facts of his own sensible experience.

But we are not yet done with this famous passage which the modernist quotes to corroborate his own contention and which proves the direct contrary. It is so seldom that the modernist can be coaxed or wheedled into sanctioning with his approval the historicity of a Scripture text, that when we find him so condescending, one is tempted to make the most of it. It is, indeed, something to find a text of Scripture to which he vouchsafes the honor of his sanction, and here we have the very strongest sanction which the modernist can give to it—viz., that of quoting it in proof of his own argument. Now that we have irrefragable proof of the modernist's endorsement of this text, let us examine it a little more at length.

It will be remembered that the main contention of the modernist is that the Christ of faith can be known only by faith; in other words, that He can be known only by a supernatural light, and not at all by the light of history; and it will also be remembered that by the Christ of faith is meant Christ as "united to God," to use the modernist's expression. It is much then to have the modernist seal of approval upon this particular passage. To it we can appeal as history without fear of contradiction or challenge by the modernist; for does not he himself also appeal to it? Now there is no other passage in the whole New Testament which deals so unequivocally with Christ's own views on the subject of His divine personality. It is one of the most striking, as it is one of the most far-reaching in its results, of all the facts related in the Gospel. In it we have many features standing out in bold prominence. First, regarding His own personality, and this personality as related to the divinity. Next we have the confession of Peter that He was the Christ, the Son of the living God. Then we have the approval, or, more properly speaking, the confirmation of Peter's statement by Christ Himself that He was the Son of God; and this means that He was the Son of God in the sense that there is a communication of the divine essence, or that He was a sharer in the divine nature with the Father; for if it meant otherwise there would be no meaning in Christ's eulogy of Peter or in the accompanying declaration that the knowledge was revealed by the Father. Again, there is the reward bestowed upon Peter for his faith and confession. And, lastly, there is contained in the passage a declaration concerning the institution of His Church by Christ—something which, according to the modernist, belongs wholly to the Christ of faith and not to the historic Christ at all. But what we wish to call the modernist's attention to is that this passage proclaims that Christ was the Christ of faith; that in it He Himself unequivocally teaches that He is the Christ of faith, and that, even at this day we can know the Christ of faith from it. And this passage is history. The modernist cannot deny this; for, we

repeat it, does he not appeal to it as history? Consequently out of his own mouth it is shown that his "new position," that the Christ of faith cannot be known from history, is an absolutely baseless one. Indeed we may say, "Jew, I thank thee for that word."

The difficulty with the modernist is that he confounds the facts of history with the logical deductions from these facts. Indeed, he seems to have a special faculty for confounding things essentially different. The knowledge of revealed truths which comes to us from reading the New Testament, and the apperceptions of faith in the mind of the believer, are things as wide asunder as the poles; but the modernist does not seem to be able to view them apart. His completely warped mentality seems to be a sort of intellectual strabismus in which the axes of true mental perception are always out of parallel. Hence he is totally unable to perceive the wide difference which exists between the intellectual conviction that comes from logical reasoning on the facts, let us say, in the life of Christ, and the accepted certainty which follows the illumination of the mind by divine faith; in other words, the conclusions which are reached from an observance of facts that come under the senses and the act of faith which permits the Christian to say, "Credo—I believe." Yet we all know that examples of this nature are every-day occurrences even at the present time. There are numbers of people standing at the door of the Catholic Church, but outside, who are logically convinced of its truth. Their reason is convinced, but the supernatural illumination which would compel the act of faith is wanting.

The second reason of the modernist is of still more flimsy texture than the first. He tells us that "Another reason for distinguishing between the Christ of history and the Christ of faith is that in His life two states really different are really distinguished. The first state is that of his mortal life, in which He is found among men in the same sensible manner as a man among his equals, and the second is that of His glorious life, which commences with His resurrection and in which He continues to be in communication with us, but in an invisible and spiritual manner." The modernist's own statement is:

"Une autre raison de distinguer entre le Christ de l'histoire et le Christ de la foi est que dans sa vie on distingue reellement deux etats bien differents. Le premier etat est celui de sa vie mortelle dans lequel il s'est comporte avec les hommes de la maniers sensible qu'un homme avec ses semblables, et le second est celui de sa vie glorieuse qui commence avec la resurrection et dans lequel il continue a etre en communication avec nous, mais d'une maniere invisible et spirituelle."

Now the obvious answer to all this absurdity is that this ingenious

division does not correspond in any way to even his own distinction in Christ's personality. The Christ of faith does not begin with His resurrection. It is not the post-resurrection Christ that constitutes the object of Christian faith. Nay, it might be truly said that it is not so much the post-resurrection Christ as the prae-resurrection Christ that is the object of the veneration that springs from faith. It is, indeed, true that the history of Christ after His glorious resurrection appeals to faith, but not precisely in the same lively—we had almost said affectionate—manner as that of His earthly career. The Christ that was cradled in the manger, whose death was sought by Herod, who at the age of twelve years was found in the temple instructing the doctors of the law, who at the Canan nuptials changed water into wine, who healed the sick and cured the blind and raised the dead to life, who fed the multitudes in the desert by His miraculous multiplication of bread, who taught and spake as no man ever spake, who chose His Apostles, who rode in triumph into Jerusalem, who later was mocked and scourged and crucified, who was "a worm and no man" and who trod the winepress alone, who drank the Gethsemane's chalice to the dregs and tasted of the bitterness of Calvary's vinegar and gall, who even experienced His hour of dereliction, and who throughout it all foretold His resurrection and claimed to be one with the Father—this is the Christ—if we are to have distinctions at all—to which attaches the liveliest faith of His Christian followers. That this Man was God from not only after the resurrection, as the modernist would make us believe, but from the time the angels sang at His birth; nay, from the time the archangel announced His coming—that is what Christians believe; so that when the modernist divides the life of Christ into ante and post-resurrection periods and asserts that the latter period corresponds to the Christ of Christian faith, he is simply striving to bolster up a theory of straw by an argument of stubble. Nothing but the wildest and most desperate extremity could suggest such wildcat argument so wholly at variance with the theory which it is supposed to support. The argument that Mars is inhabited because some one must have dug the canals (?) thereon is sublime wisdom compared to the modernist's second reason. The distinction of the second reason by which the life of Christ is divided into two parts, the first ending at His death and the second beginning with His resurrection, so utterly fails to make the second part coincide with the real object of Christian faith that nothing but sheer ineptitude and folly could find in it a semblance of a reason for making the distinction of the Christ of faith and the Christ of history.

There is, however, another corollary from this reason. In it the modernist would persuade us that previous to the resurrection Christ

was not God; but that somehow in His resurrection He became united with God—perhaps even very God. This, of course, implies that there was consequently no atonement and consequently no redemption. Is the modernist prepared for this conclusion? We are inclined to think that he would be likely to shrink from it.

Another answer to this inane reason is that in some respects it is identical with the first, being merely couched in different terms; and this denotes the modernist's poverty of reasons. From this point of view, however, it is already refuted in the first argument. That it is essentially identical with the first, only more inanely worded, is evident from the fact that he wishes to make precisely the same distinction as in the first—viz., that the Christ of history was known to sensible experience while the Christ of faith could not be known to experience or to history, but only to faith. "The first state," we are told, "is that of His mortal life, in which He lived among men in the same sensible manner as a man with his equals" (*"de la maniere sensible qu'un homme avec ses semblables"*). It is very evident, then, that the object of the modernist in this argument was to reduce the life of Christ to the terms of the first reason, in which he attempts to restrict the Christ of history to a few sensible and natural acts and the Christ of faith to the experiences of faith, although in this second reason he has wrenched completely the Christ of faith from even his own step and moorings. But with this feature we have already dealt.

There is a third reply to this empty reason. It is that if the modernist is to take the life of Christ at all and divide it into parts, he must take all the facts of that life; and consequently in what he calls "His mortal life" he must take account of all that is related of Him, whether natural or supernatural; and that if he includes the latter, these of themselves disprove his contention altogether and overthrow his argument. The converse of this is also true. It is that between the two divisions of the life of Christ the modernist has drawn the line in the wrong place. He wished, of course, to divide the sensible and visible from the invisible and spiritual, and places the dividing line at the resurrection. But the proper place, if we are not to manufacture our own facts, but to follow history, is not at the resurrection, but at the Ascension. There are no facts in what the modernist calls His "mortal life" more fully authenticated than are the facts from His resurrection to His ascension. The facts of His risen life are as duly authenticated as the facts of His public life, and both are as fully authenticated as any facts in history. But all this the modernist serenely ignores. He seems to be of opinion that all that is needed is for him to utter words without meaning and the world should eagerly and greedily devour them as

words of supreme wisdom. For it is to be remarked that the modernist does not give one tittle of evidence for all his wild farrago of doctrine. He makes little or no attempt to establish by reasonable argument or demonstration the truth of his assertions. That is his theory, he seems to say, and if the Church does not adopt it, she must take the consequences. The life of Christ, he tells us, ended with His death. Then began the life of faith in the experiences of His followers. All the rich facts of history so indubitably attested go for naught. The open tomb, the risen Saviour, the different apparitions, the discourses with His Apostles and disciples, the circumstantial doubt and subsequent faith of Didymus—all are childish imaginations, if we are to believe the modernist. The modernist evidently thinks that this method of dealing with the facts of the Gospel has been discovered for the first time by himself, whereas they are as old as Christianity itself. These childish methods, however, amuse us when we meet them in Mrs. Humphrey Ward's "David Grieve," for instance; but they grieve us when we hear them repeated by full-grown men. But by what warrant does the modernist try to force upon the Christian world this truncated and mutilated Christ? The mangling of Christ by the scourges is far more tolerable than the mangling by the modernist. The modernist would push aside the history of Christianity in order that he might have an opportunity of manufacturing his own history of it out of his imagination. He would tear up the Gospels in order that he may have the satisfaction of substituting in their stead his own "nouvelles positions." There was just one logical step for the modernist when he invented his novel theories of "the truth of faith and the truth of history" and the "Christ of faith and the Christ of history," and that was to join the ranks of Strauss and Renan and deck with his boasted intellectuality the agnostic chariot wheels; but it is the height of folly and involves a thousand inconsistencies to make the distinction of the truth of history and of faith, and yet try to cling to Christianity, or to deny the supernatural in the Christ of history, and at the same time pretend to believe Him to be divine.

And this brings us to the crux of the entire question. The modernist, as has been seen, cancels the supernatural throughout historic Christianity to please the agnostic; for the agnostic maintains that the supernatural cannot come under the observation of the senses or within the limits of human knowledge; consequently it must be denied all claims to historic recognition. Now, nothing could be more illogical than this absurd claim of the agnostic critic, and it is high time it was met directly.

In point of fact, nothing could be more absurd than the pretensions of our latter-day critics to the right and authority to declare

beforehand what they shall or shall not find in history or what they shall accept as history. Yet this is precisely their position. As well might they claim the right to write what they imagine to be the true history. Indeed, the two things are practically the same; and we have an example of it in the modernist programme. But the business of the critic is not to lay down *a priori* rules concerning what he shall or shall not recognize as history, wholly regardless of the evidence, but to take the facts which he finds there and deal with them to the best of his ability. Indeed, this is so certain that it may be laid down as a general principle that no man is qualified to enter upon the work of historical criticism with preconceived notions as to what he should or should not find there regardless of the evidence. The true content of history should be determined not by predetermined conclusions, but by the evidence. The critic who attempts to force the former to ride roughshod over the latter, by that very fact conclusively demonstrates his utter unfitness for the work of historical criticism. His first duty is with the existence of the facts; their nature must be a secondary consideration. Yet nowadays we find this order usually reversed. It would be preposterous and impertinent to undertake to reject or ignore them because they do not square precisely with our notions of what the facts of history should be. The critic who thinks otherwise should write history to suit himself, but it will have no value for any one as such, not even for himself. The critic confronted with the supernatural in history is in a position somewhat similar to that of the scientist who comes upon a new element which he does not understand. What would be thought of the scientist who should undertake to ignore the existence of radium because it upsets all the former calculations of science on so many important points? Radium is a fact, and as a fact must claim recognition. So, too, are all the facts of history. As such they are made known to us by the evidence of witnesses. They may reverse our theories and make havoc with our prejudices, but they cannot be exploded or excluded by preconceived notions on the subject. These facts, even when supernatural in character, must be taken precisely as we take other facts of history. Otherwise there is an end to all historical truth. To treat them as non-existent would be unjust, arbitrary, illogical in the extreme, and subversive of all historic reality. Neither is it permissible, after eyeing them askance to see how they could be conveniently got rid of, to frame hypotheses or theories or lay down rules of criticism so carefully worded as to exclude them. As far as the evidence goes, they must be dealt with precisely as we deal with other facts, even though the consequences may not be exactly to our liking and the inferences arising from them may clash with our most cherished beliefs. The natural and the

supernatural must be placed on the same footing and admitted to equal rights as far as regards the evidential value of the witnesses or proofs by which they are attested. The dignity of history as well as the majesty of fact must not be sacrificed to our prejudices, our passions, our sympathies or our interests.

This principle has been completely lost sight of within the last half century, and the consequence is that criticism, especially historical criticism, is in a state of chronic anarchy and confusion. Had the modernists met the critics on these grounds we should not have the hesitating, vacillating, shilly-sallying methods which affirm in one breath and deny in another, and which from beginning to end are simply a riot of sophistry, confusion and chaos. We should not have the mass of contradictions and solemn and imposing absurdities which have brought a stain on the character as well as on the intellectual deserts of otherwise good men whom fear of "la critique" has landed in a morass of absurd and illogical thought and statement.

It is high time for a thorough and searching inquiry into the methods of the agnostic critics and to see that they are properly arraigned of high crimes and misdemeanors against the truth of history by their arbitrary exclusion of so large an amount of its most important facts. It is time to ask by what authority historical criticism arrogates to itself the impudent prerogative of assigning duly authenticated historical facts to the limbo of the unknowable, and this for the only reason that they are supernatural—against which which the critics have an inherent bias. It is not the province of the critic to undertake to determine the nature of the supernatural for the purpose of excluding it. It is not so much the province of the critic even to account for the facts as to determine whether they are historically true. It is sheer gratuitous impudence in the critic to undertake to declare whether a fact duly authenticated by historic testimony was possible or impossible, or whether it is or is not knowable by human intelligence. This is not the province of the critic at all. What then is the primary duty of the critic? His primary duty is to say what facts are historically true. In other words, to verify or disprove the statements of the historian. Did the alleged facts of history actually occur? Did the recorded phenomena actually take place? Did the historian truly make record of the events? Did truth or error or exaggeration or subtraction change the nature of the recorded fact? To answer these is, to our mind, the primary duty of the historical critic. To put it in a single phrase: The business of historical criticism is to verify the facts of history. In order to do this it must divest itself of all préjudice and preconceived theories about the facts. It cannot be permitted to say whether the

facts are unknowable or impossible; that is not its sphere at all. It cannot be permitted to say, this fact is supernatural and consequently is unknowable or impossible. Indeed, if it comes to the examination of the facts with prejudices or preconceived theories about their knowableness or unknowableness, their possibility or impossibility, it thereby proclaims its utter unfitness for the duty of historical critic. Are the facts true? Are they as fully authenticated as other facts which we accept? Are the witnesses trustworthy? These are the questions which must primarily engage the attention of the critic. With the question of their nature, whether they were natural or supernatural, possible or impossible, knowable or unknowable, the critic has primarily nothing whatever to do. The existence of the historic fact, that is the question which stands on the threshold of all historic inquiry. The critic may, indeed, later—after the determination of the truth or falsehood of the narration—exercise his intelligence and skill in accounting for the phenomena; but his judgments on these points will have precisely the value of the logical reasons upon which they may happen to be based—no more or no less. Nor can he be permitted to invert the order, so as first to undertake to determine the nature that the question of its existence is determined either in whole or in part by conclusions about its nature. This would be to subvert the truth of history.

Nor can the critic be permitted to assume positions *a priori* which he has formulated especially for the purpose of excluding the supernatural and placing them beyond the reach of knowledge. No convenient hypothesis worded so exactly that, like Spencer's unknowable, it will exclude the supernatural from consideration can have any justification whatever. Nothing could be more illogical than the recent contention that because facts belong to the supernatural they may safely and must rightly be ignored. Supernatural facts, like natural facts, once duly authenticated, must be reckoned with. Their right to consideration as facts of history cannot be abrogated. Like the citizen's right to life, they are inalienable. They are entitled to trial and to their day in court, to use a legal phrase. The evidence proves them true facts of history; they cannot be ignored. Their right to consideration are prior to all hypotheses and cannot be overridden or superseded by any theory later in invention than the facts, and invented for the express purpose of invalidating their claims. Summary processes have always been justly objects of distrust. And the summary process of an *ex post facto* law or canon of criticism in the hands of the critic is not an edifying or even an intelligent spectacle.

Now what are the facts? The agnostic critic has met with facts of a supernatural character in his reading the history of Christianity.

He has found them to be duly authenticated. Nay, he has found them to be as fully authenticated as any facts in history. He has even found that no facts in all history are so conclusively proven. He dare not undertake to disprove them; the task were impossible. Accordingly, he casts about for a means of asphyxiating them; and the asphyxiating gas comes from his own brain. He invents the sophism that since they are supernatural they cannot be known, and what cannot be known can be treated as non-existent.

Now in all this the agnostic forgets that he is contributing the strongest possible testimony to the historical truth of the facts. That he does not attempt to disprove them proves conclusively that the testimony for them is indisputable—invincible. Even if the world were not filled with testimony of the authenticity of the facts of Christianity's beginnings, the fact that the agnostic critic abandons all hope of disproving them as utterly hopeless would be a sufficient, as it is a most eloquent, evidence of their historicity. He cannot disprove them; they are too well authenticated. Consequently he must rid history of them completely, and the only way in which he can do this is by declaring them unknowable. This wretched subterfuge, however, is the most eloquent testimony in their behalf. What, then, is the answer to the agnostic critic's position? It is very simple, but as effective and conclusive as it is simple. If the supernatural can be proved to exist it is thereby proved to be known. And what it is proved to exist is, as has been seen, so conclusively proven that the agnostic critic makes no attempt to show the contrary.

In other words, the agnostic takes a position parallel to that of Hume when he found himself confronted with the same impossibility of disproving the existence of the supernatural in history. Hume, however, undertook to maintain not the unknowability, but the impossibility of the supernatural. He fully realized the impossibility of the task of overthrowing the testimony of history on the question of miracles. "What," he exclaims, "have we to oppose to such a cloud of witnesses?" What, indeed, but a mere subterfuge of his own invention—namely, to deny their possibility. "What have we to oppose to such a cloud of witnesses but the absolute impossibility or the miraculous nature of the events which they relate?" This was Hume's subterfuge when he found it impossible to fly in the face of the testimony which history offered—a task which he dare not undertake. And our agnostics copy Hume in a still wider parallel by telling us not that the supernatural is impossible, but that it is unknowable. But Paley and other Anglican divines retorted sharply and conclusively on Hume by saying: "What is proved to be known need not be proved to be possible," and in like manner may lik manner may the present-day Christian retort upon the agnostic,

the present-day Christian retort upon the agnostic, by telling him that "what is proved to be known need not be proved to be knowable."

Had the modernist met the dreadful "la critique" on this ground, how different might have been the results, and what intellectual embarrassment and mortification he might have spared himself and the rest of the world! As it is, the perplexities in which he has involved himself are sometimes ridiculous in the extreme. Perhaps there is no more amusing instance of this than the manner in which he tries to show that truth and falsehood are one and the same thing. Sometimes the modernist is so careful not to wound the susceptibilities of the evangelists, when he finds it necessary to contradict them that he really embarrasses himself. Here is a refreshing instance:

The sacred writers leave no doubt in the mind of the reader regarding the truth of their statements. They sometimes take pains to assure us positively that they were eye-witnesses to the facts which they relate, or if not eye-witnesses, that they vouched for the veracity of their statements on the authority of eye-witnesses. Thus St. Luke assures Theophilus that he wrote to him in order "that thou mayest know the truth of these words in which thou hast been instructed," and St. John in his Gospel writes: "These are written that you may believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God," vouching for the truth of his own statement by adding, "this is that disciple who giveth testimony of these things, and hath written these things; and we know that his testimony is true," and again in his first epistle St. John writes: "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have diligently looked upon."

These statements are so direct that there is no room for doubt as to the meaning of the writers, and even the modernist feels that it would be the height of hardihood to contradict them. For once he seems to realize that contradiction would be an absurdity. Nevertheless, he has already told us that the Gospel facts were "imaginees," that they never took place at all, and were at best only experiences of faith which the evangelists "projected into the life of the mortal Jesus." Consequently he finds himself between his own theory, which declares the Gospel facts historically false, and the statements of the evangelists, which declares that they are historically true; and the manner in which he tries to extricate himself from the dilemma is ridiculous in the extreme. Finding himself between the devil and the deep sea, no witness at bay confronted by his own contradictory statements, no double-dyed intriguer, no convicted trickster ever resorted to stranger stratagem for delivery from his ridiculous posi-

tion. "Assuredly," the modernist smirkingly says, "assuredly, in order to be able to sustain the faith of the faithful, the Gospel history must be true and real, founded, too, upon the testimony of those who 'from the beginning' were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word of God." Here are the exact words:

"Assurement, pour pouvoir soutenir la foi des fideles, l'histoire evangelique doit etre vraie et reelle, fondee elle-meme sur le temoignage de ceux qui, 'dis le commencement,' ont su par eux-memes et sont devenus ministres de la parole de Dieu."

So far so good. But mark the piece of critical wisdom which follows: "But since in this case (speaking of St. Luke) there was no necessity of arousing faith for the first time with the reader (that is, Theophilus), but that it was already active and fecund, as well in the case of the reader as in that of the writer, it reacts necessarily in its turn on history transforming it in part in order to make of it the most efficacious expression of the object of faith."

"Mais puisque dans ce cas le foi n'a pas besoin d'etre excitee pour la premiere fois chez le lecteur, mais qu'elle est deja active et feconde, aussi bien chez celui-ci que chez l'ecrivain, elle reagit necessairement a son tour sur l'histoire, la transformant en partie pour en faire l'expression plus efficace de l'objet de la croyance."

One rubs one's eyes to discover whether he is waking or dreaming on reading this extraordinary proposition, without parallel as it is, in the whole history of logical absurdities; but there can be no doubt about its meaning, for only on the preceding page we find the general proposition—of which this is but a particular application—laid down, that as "before all it must be observed that the Gospels have not been written for the faithful for the purpose of converting them to the faith, but for believers, in order to explain and fortify their faith," there seemed therefore to be no necessity for adhering too closely to the truth. The words can have no other signification. Here is the entire clause:

"Mais, avant tout, il faut observer que les evangiles n'ont pas ecrits pour les infideles afin de les convertir a la foi, mais pour les croyants, afin d'eclairer et de fortifier leur foi; si a l'enseignement doctrinal ils ajoutent parfois l'apologie, ils le font d'une maniere indirecte, pour premunir les fideles contre les attaques de l'opposition juive."

These are surely amazing statements. In the history of apologetics it is safe to say that this extraordinary defense stands absolutely without a parallel. The plain English of the entire passage manifestly is, that although the modernist assevers that there should be truth in the Gospel facts, and although the Evangelist assures us that what he is writing is truth, on second thought, the modernist

wheels about and says: "Well, after all and in spite of all, there is no need to be so fastidious or exacting about the truth, since the Evangelists were not writing for the purpose of converting infidels, but for the mere purpose of instructing and confirming those already converted to the faith." In the latter case there was really no need to be squeamish about the exact truth of their statements. The faithful had to be fortified against the attacks of the Jewish opposition. False statement was sufficient for the initiated. Does the modernist say all this? Not exactly in so many words, but in such phrase as to leave no doubt as to his meaning. Mark the mild manner of the accusation that the Evangelists are prevaricators. "They do it in a manner indirect," he says; that is the modernistic phrase for "they lied;" and again, the fact that the readers for whom the Gospels were written already possessed the faith "necessarily reacted upon the history, in its turn transforming it." Now what is one to think of the modernistic notions of morality, since these are the modernistic views of historic truth? Have we here the key to the modernistic methods? We thus get a glimpse of both the motives and methods of the modernist, and perhaps have the explanation of why he wishes to destroy faith in the Sacred Scriptures, and yet retain them as the word of God, to efface the divinity of Jesus Christ and at the same time to expect salvation through Him; to show that the Catholic Church is not divine, and yet try *aut fas aut nefas* to remain within its fold.

And what, too, is to be thought of the mentality which is responsible for all this drivelling absurdity? While the modernist declares that in order to sustain the faith of the faithful, "assurement" the facts of the Gospel should be true, and although the Evangelist declares that what he is recording is true, the modernist takes second thought, and with all the "pribbles and prabbles" of Sir Hugh Evans, assures us of just the opposite; that, after all, come to think of it, inasmuch as the Evangelists were not writing for the purpose of converting the infidel, but merely for the purpose of confirming the faith of those already converted—"to strengthen the faith of the believers"—he need not tell the truth; there was no necessity for it. In other words, he could lawfully prevaricate, and he did prevaricate. Nay, what is more, he could not help himself; in spite of all his assurances, he could not tell the truth even if he would. The fact that he was writing for believers "necessairement" reacted in its turn on his history, and prevarication was inevitable.

Now this is certainly a most extraordinary proposition. It tells us that in matters of religious faith, while it is well to write down the true facts of history for the purpose of converting unbelievers, on the other hand, when history is written for the mere purpose of con-

firming the faith of those who already believe, not only is it not necessary to stick closely to the truth, but what is more, it is impossible. That is to say, no man actuated by faith, writing to a believer in the same faith, can tell the truth relating to the facts upon which their common faith is founded; he must necessarily lie. There is no escape from this conclusion; for if he can, why should St. Luke be an exception? This proposition is so monstrous that it is without a parallel in the entire history of eccentric polemics. What are we to think of the high degree of intellectuality that could conceive it, or the morality of the source from which it springs? And we must be treated to this moral and logical monstrosity in order that the modernist may retain his puerile hypothesis!

The overwhelming monstrosity of the proposition completely overshadows the other obvious question which it suggests and which in itself is so piquant in its very uniqueness—whether the zeal of the Evangelist for the conversion of unbelievers or his zeal for the confirmation, instruction and enlightenment of those already converted, constitutes the strongest temptation to overstatement or undue coloration of facts? A problem which we must leave to the superior modernist intellectuality for solution, fully assured that the same gigantic intellectuality which has originated it must be also capable of giving us its proper solution.

Indeed, in the whole history of mental aberration and ludicrous apologetics, we venture to say it would be difficult to find anything more grotesque in theory, so fatuous in conception, so illogical in arrangement, so absurd in its consequences, and at the same time so well calculated to defeat the end for which it was created or lend aid to the cause which it was intended to defeat, as the entire hypothesis of the distinction between the truth of history and the truth of faith in general and the hypothesis of the Christ of faith and the Christ of history in particular. It endeavors to suppress the indisputable facts of history and then undertakes to restore them to their full dignity, as the mere drivel of hysterical imaginings. It discounts their value as history only to impart to them a still greater value as the offspring of mere fancy. We have heard modernism extolled as a piece of wonderful wisdom and reasoning—almost as an inspiration; and its authors as men of extraordinary genius. In our opinion it is the most marvelous piece of folly invented in modern times, and its authors, judging from their writings and defenses of their theories, we must regard as men of warped judgments who are absolutely incapable of appreciating even the first principles of logic when they happen to meet with them, or to notice their absence when they are entirely wanting.

For the object of the modernist is professedly to make the truths

of Christianity acceptable to the power of which he seems to stand in such stupendous awe, *la critique*. The cause of their entire labor seems to be that *la critique* has refused to recognize as facts of history the truths of history which form the basis for Christian faith. Consequently, instead of showing the agnostic the absurdity of his contention, the modernist by his jugglery of distinction thinks to save his truth. But he forgets that he is not likely to make acceptable to the agnostic as truths of faith facts which the same agnostic has rejected as truths of history. For the critic who has not the gift of faith there can be no Christ of faith. According to the modernist, it requires a supernatural light to know Christ as such—and we may add that when He is known as such He is in large part, if we are to believe the modernist, nothing but imagination. How, then, is the modernist going to prevail upon the agnostic to accept his doctrines? Consequently, as far as the rationalist critic is concerned, all that the modernist says about the Christ of faith is as if it had never been written. Will the Christ of “legend” be more acceptable to the dreaded *la critique* than the Christ of history as we find him in the Gospels? It is difficult to see what the modernist has gained for the evidences of Christianity by taking them from the realm of history, where the critic could not logically ignore them, and lodging them in the realm of faith, where the agnostic as historical critic is justified in completely ignoring them. As evidenced merely by faith the historical critic is under no obligation whatever to make note of the fundamental truths of Christianity; as evidenced by history he is bound to explain them in some way, and he must not ignore them as such without stamping himself as utterly disqualified for the duties of scientific critic in the region of history. Hence in his boasted distinctions the modernist has wittingly or unwittingly, but certainly maladroitly, played into the hands of the agnostic critics. Under the pretext of rescuing Christ from the destructive effects of the higher (?) criticism he would take away from Christ’s divine personality all that can give it religious efficacy—namely, its historical value.

But this is not all. With eyes wide open the modernist has walked straight into the trap set by David Hume and baited for the catching of logical gudgeons. The principle which underlies the entire modernist theory is that Christ as an object of religion is unprovable by reason and must be taken wholly on faith. It is an eloquent commentary on the learning, wisdom, penetration and scholarship of the modernist to find him adopting in apologetics precisely the position upon which Hume more than two hundred years ago poured out the phials of his impassioned scorn. Hume was unjust to the believers of his day, for they took their stand against him firmly on the ground

of human reason, and the position on which he justly vented his scorn was not that of his opponents, but was precisely that which the modernists in their superior wisdom have seen fit to assume. When the modernist comes to the defense of religion he abandons reason altogether and takes refuge in the sanctuary of faith. He imagines that by this process he is rendering Christianity immune from all attacks of its enemies; and he does not hesitate to condemn the position of those who, in defense of religion, appeal to the truth of history. "Not at all," says the modernist; "not at all. Reason has nothing whatever to do with Christianity. Fact has nothing to do with Christianity. The truth of Christianity and the truth of history have nothing whatever in common. Christianity is independent of all these—of fact, of history, of reason. It belongs wholly to the region of faith; hence you cannot touch it." Now this is the exact position against which Hume so justly leveled the shafts of his ridicule. Born scoffer that he was, he with scathing irony says, as though he had the modernist before him:

"I am the better pleased with the method of reasoning here delivered, as I think it may serve to confound those dangerous friends and disguised enemies to the Christian religion who have undertaken to defend it by the principles of human reason. Our most holy religion is founded on faith, not on reason (!), and it is a sure method of exposing it to put it to such a trial as it is by no means fit to endure."

What Hume said in fiercest irony the modernist tells us in all seriousness. Hume, exasperated because he found it impossible to overthrow the evidence in favor of Christianity attested as it was by such "a cloud of witnesses"—to use his own expression, turns upon Christian believers and attributes to them a false argument which they did not use, but which the modernist now makes his whole stock in trade. Upon this position, falsely supposed to be assumed by the defenders of Christianity, Hume trained the batteries of his fierce and savage sarcasm. Against such a position, had Christianity's defenders been foolish enough to assume it, Hume was, of course, right. The modernist, however, is nothing loath to assume it, forgetting that while the position may be safe from assault, it ties the hands of Christianity in defense and utterly deprives it of all power to prove its truth to the world, since all appeal must be to faith, to the utter extrusion of reason. The shallowness of the knowledge which was unacquainted with Hume's famous argument, and the hollowness of the judgment which failed to detect the obvious logic of the modernist position, surely furnished the proper equipment for the mighty minds that undertook the task of enlightening the world.

But it would be a mistake to leave our readers under the impression that the modernist is not an ardent believer in Christ. He insists, indeed, that Christ was a mere man—at best a prophet. He denies unflinchingly that the “signs and wonders” related of Jesus in the Gospel were historical realities. He maintains that after Christ’s death His disciples began to imagine these wonders in word and work and persuaded themselves that they had actually taken place; but they had not. The Evangelists simply projected into the life of the mortal Jesus the fancies which His disciples began to dream after he had departed from them. Nevertheless in spite of all this he assures us that he is a firm believer in Christ—yea, in the very Christ of the Gospels. He claims to recognize what he calls “the richness of the initial fact” (*la richesse du fait initial*), whatever this may be. He recognizes that he owes to Christ the attitude of respect and love due to Him in whom dwells the plenitude of the divinity (*l’attitude de respect et d’amour due a Celui en qui habite la plenitude de la divinite*).

It would seem that at last realizing the destructive efficacy of his fanciful theories and “nouvelles positions,” and appalled at the havoc which they must necessarily make with all the grand fundamental dogmas of Christian belief, he sets to work to repair the evil as best he can and to rehabilitate the shattered remnants of the Christ of history which he has labored so hard to utterly demolish. Like Marius “sitting on the ruins of Carthage,” the encyclical seems to have opened his eyes to the devastation which would result from an adoption of his follies, and looking around him at the subversion of Christian truths, he compares them with the ruins of philosophy and religion which he finds in his own person, and makes a fatuous attempt to remedy the evil. And this is how he does it. After he has told us that the Christ of the Gospels is nothing more—as far as the supernatural facts are concerned—than the experience of the Christian believers, who imagined them, and that the Evangelists merely projected these facts into Christ’s life, the modernist doubles back on this position and tells us that notwithstanding that the Evangelists prevaricated when they recorded these occurrences as actual realities, the facts were there after all from the very beginning potentially in the person of Christ. The richness of the initial fact was there all the while. It is doubtful if outside bedlam and modernism there could be found any one who would care to stand sponsor for this extraordinary piece of wisdom: “The Christ of faith, for example, is without doubt very different from the Christ of history. . . . But we do not pretend that from an ontological point of view there did not exist already hidden in the Christ of history these ethical values and religious significations which Christian experience

has slowly discovered in living the Gospel message." Here are the modernist's exact words:

"Le Christ de la foi, par exemple, est sans doute bien different du Christ de l'histoire. . . . Mais nous ne pretendons pas qu'au point de vue ontologique, il n'y eut pas deja, renfermees dans le Christ de l'histoire, ces valeurs ethiques et ces significations religieuses que l'experience chretienne a decouvertes lentement, en vivant le message evangelique."

So that the Evangelists, notwithstanding their prevarications, were not so far astray after all. Indeed, the wonder is that they hit so near the mark. Christ, the modernist informs us, did none of the "signs and wonders" which the sacred writers attribute to Him; but He could do them if He wished. They were, from an ontological point of view, existing in the initial fact even. By the ontological point of view the modernist doubtless means to say that these supernatural wonders had a potential existence in the person of Christ; for if their existence was actual, they must have actually occurred. So that the Evangelists were not so very inferior as guessers and mind readers after all. "Renfermees" though the signs and wonders were, the modernist admits that the beginnings of the divine were there. Christ was a developing God. Is it not astonishing that the prevaricating Evangelists came so near the truth? And another wonder is that if these supernatural elements, as we may call them, were there potentially, they might not be there actually just as well. Indeed, we are stupid enough not to be able to comprehend just how much difference it made whether they were actually or merely potentially there as far as the doctrine of the modernists is concerned. And then, too, we are impertinent enough to inquire how the modernist has made his discovery? By what process of reasoning, or logic, or intuition, or information, or occultism has he come into the knowledge that the facts could not be there actually while they were there potentially? Of course, it sounds somewhat impolite to ask the modernist to advance his reasons, but then the reputation of the Evangelists is somewhat at stake in the matter. But let us try to grasp this solemn nonsense in all its absurdity.

The facts related in the life of Christ concerning His miraculous power are related as incontrovertible facts by the four Evangelists, and, in the case of John and Matthew, as facts of which the writers were actual eye-witnesses. The modernist, with his superior advantage (over mere contemporaries and eye-witnesses) of coming on the scene twenty centuries later, declares these facts to be unhistorical. These happenings could never have taken place at all. Instead, after Christ's death—although He was a mere prophet—He, in some mysterious manner, worked upon the minds of His followers,

and, strange to say, accomplished in their faith experiences that the Evangelists wrote concerning Him. These experiences the Evangelists took and wrote down deliberately as actual occurrences in the life of Christ. Thus they came to be recorded—falsely, of course—as facts of history. What could never have taken place as actualities of history—for the reason that they were supernatural,did, however, take place in the experience of the early Christians; or at least they were imaginations and speculations on the part of the believers. Consequently they had no actual existence and no historical reality outside the minds of the early Christians. So far so good. But now the modernist tells us that although they could have no existence outside the minds of the Christians, they had an ontological existence—that is, a potential existence in the person of even the Christ of history. They were not realities, but they were there. They were all the while potentially in the person of Christ, and although He was not actually supernatural, He was potentially supernatural. Although these signs and wonders cannot for a moment be regarded as possible, they existed in Him potentially—from the ontologique point of view they were there. What can be more pitiable than this wretched rivel? What is more deserving of censure than this slip-slop reasoning which the modernist tries to force upon us in the name of enlightenment?

We have by no means exhausted this wonderful treasury of philosophical and theological wisdom. There are yet remaining many rare gems of modernistic genius which are very tempting in their ingenious absurdity. Sed sat sufficit. The encyclical which extinguished the incipient conflagration has called modernism a “synthesis of all the heresies;” it might with equal justice be called a synthesis of all logical errors and intellectual follies.

SIMON FITZSIMONS.

Lima, N. Y.

MISSIONARY LIFE IN ENGLAND IN THE LATER PENAL TIMES.

OF RECENT years the subject of British Catholicism in the penal times has come prominently before that section of the reading public which finds its chief literary interest in the social life of bygone days, thanks principally to the appearance of such works as Gillow's "Biographical Dictionary of English Catholics," Mgr. B. Ward's "History of St. Edmund's College" and "Catholic London a Century Ago." The present writer in his "Historical Dictionary of English Missions" endeavored to illustrate another aspect of the same subject, and he now proposes to give some account of the daily labors and missionary methods of the Catholic clergy in England during that era of "bloodless martyrdom" which intervened between the abdication of James II. and the first Catholic Relief Act of 1778.

The history of English priests in those times is strangely uniform, and the story of one is practically the record of all. If the aspirant to holy orders were not a scion of one of the old Catholic landed families of the country, he was generally the younger son of one of their sturdy dependents—that hardy class of Catholic yeomen who in conjunction with the few "papist" noblemen and squires kept the lamp of the faith burning brightly in spite of the drag and burden of the penal laws and the accompanying social ostracism which these entailed. From such a stock the child early learnt those lessons of steadfast loyalty to his religion and resignation to the injustice of the times which were the chief characteristics of the old Catholic families, and which are among the proudest memories of their descendants.

When Sir George Saville's act gave a slight modicum of relief to the adherents of the ancient faith in 1778, there were about eighty Catholic chapels in England, and in a few of these the Holy Sacrifice was offered almost daily, but in the vast majority of "Mass houses" Mass was only said by stealth on Sundays, and not always even then. When the penal laws were actively enforced during times of public excitement, as in the case of the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745, the feeble Catholic life of the recusants ceased for a while, and only by taking special precautions were the initiated enabled to avail themselves of spiritual consolation. Thus when things were at their worst, it was not uncommon to give warning that Mass was about to be said in such and such a place by putting out pieces of linen to dry on the hedges around or near the house where Catholics were known to reside. To return. The Catholic boy in whose breast

God had awakened the holy desire of the sacred priesthood would usually commence his ministering career by serving the Mass of the chaplain at the hall or castle, and from this worthy man would receive the first rudiments of instruction not only in the "three R's," the Douay catechism and "the casting of accompts," but if especially promising as a student, would often be grounded also in a portion at least of Lilly's "Latin Grammar" or the "Introduction to the Latin Language," in use at Douay College. If the young candidate for holy orders persevered in his vocation his name was duly submitted to the Vicar Apostolic of the district, who, if satisfied as to the aspirant's general fitness for the sacred office, would procure his entrance at Douay or one of the other "foreign seminaries beyond the sea." Occasionally the student was recommended by some well-known priest or layman, but even in this case, of course, the consent of the Vicar Apostolic was required before the lad could become a "church student." If too poor to defray the necessary expenses of his collegiate course, the candidate would be placed on one or other of the seminary funds set apart for the purpose. Bishop Challoner, the "clarum et venerabile nomen" of English Catholicism in the eighteenth century, went to Douay in 1705 as a pensioner on one of Bishop Leyburn's bursaries. After the establishment of Sedgley Park School in 1761 and the Old Hall Green Academy, the present St. Edmund's College, in 1769, it became not unusual for church students to pass at least a portion of their time at one of these furtive seats of learning before proceeding to their more advanced course abroad.

At a time when it was extremely dangerous for Catholics, and especially Catholic priests, to have about them anything that might "bewray" their sacred calling, it was highly desirable that the ministers of the faith in England should carry their libraries chiefly in their heads. There was a large and valuable library for the use of the London clergy and educated laity at Gray's Inn, and the care of this collection was generally entrusted to some old priest who had fought the good fight and was looking forward to his near eternal reward. In most Catholic houses of note and in some of the more retired missions, notably at Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, were to be found similar, but, of course, far smaller stocks of books, mostly theological and apologetical, disguised from dangerously inquiring eyes by such titles as "Opera Ciceronis," "Opera Senecae" and the like. But in their journeys through the shires on sick calls, visits of instruction and so forth, it was inexpedient for priests to have about them any works or tractates likely to arouse suspicion. Hence the course of study for the clergy of the English mission was almost invariably protracted over twelve or even fourteen years, one

of the chief features of this lengthy curriculum being a public "defensio" of some philosophical or theological thesis against all comers—a trying ordeal which usually took place before a large and distinguished company in the university or public hall of the town where the college of the tyro might be situated. These "defensiones" or public examinations, needless to say, were of the severest description, and they not infrequently covered what was practically the whole course of the candidate's reading. Those who defended their philosophy or divinity "with great applause" were often honored with the bachelor's degree or even doctor's cap and ring.

Thus laboriously and thoroughly equipped for his work on the English mission, the newly ordained priest returned home and placed himself at the disposal of the Vicar Apostolic of his district. Being a man of mature years, that is, about thirty or thirty-one years of age, the newcomer was as a rule appointed chaplain to some nobleman or gentleman whose residence formed the rallying point, so to speak, of the faithful over an entire district of many miles. While thus employed the priest would often pass as his patron's bailiff or steward, and sometimes he actually discharged the duties of these responsible posts. In such centres as Lancashire or Staffordshire, where the number of Catholics was always considerable, the work of the missionary lay far beyond the borders of his immediate sphere of influence. Under the favorable conditions just named, Catholics found safety in numbers and professed their religion almost openly. Thus in 1709 Dr. Holmes, Protestant vicar of Blackburn, reported to the Bishop of Chester that out of a total of 1,800 families in his parish, no fewer than 1,023 were "avowed Papists." Not only did the clergy of this district say Mass and perform their other sacred duties publicly, but the Vicar Apostolic when making his visitation the same year gave Confirmation to "crowds of Catholics," who assembled for the purpose at Lower Hall, Samblesbury.

In some few places, especially those situated in remote districts, persons were occasionally attracted to the proscribed Church by arguments widely different from those to be found in the pages of Bellarmine or Gother. During a debate in the House of Commons in November, 1753, Admiral Vernon said that there lately lived in his county "a great and rich Popish lady," who by connivance had a chapel in her own house, where Mass was celebrated every Sunday and holiday. This lady, out of zeal for her religion, had on every such day a large quantity of beef and mutton roasted or boiled with plenty of roots and greens from her garden, and every poor person who came to Mass at her chapel was sure of a good dinner. The neighboring parish churches were all deserted and the lady's chapel crowded with persons who, in the phrase of the gallant admiral,

"thought that Mass with a good dinner was better than the church service without one."*

But such instances as those just recorded were quite exceptional, and the greatest caution was required for the safe exercise of the ancient faith. Even as late as the decade following the accession of George III. Bishop Challoner was compelled to preach to his congregation in "an upper room" of the "Ship" Tavern, off Holborn, his auditors having pipes and pewter pots by them to disarm suspicion. At the ancient mission of Cheam, in Surrey, Father William Heatley, O. S. B., Lady Petre's chaplain, who served the district, had to retire for a time to avoid a prosecution set on foot against him by the Protestant rector. Early in the century Bishop Gifford, of the London district, was forced to change his lodgings fourteen times in one year to elude pursuit. In 1733 Bishop Williams, of the Northern district, had "to fly to remote places to escape prison," and in 1747, the year after Prince Charles Edward's abortive rising, Bishop York, coadjutor of the Western district, wrote to Propaganda: "We are compelled to fly from house to house and from city to city." There was a recrudescence of "priest hunting" in 1766-71, owing to the exertions of the informer Payne, and so numerous were the prosecutions that one firm of lawyers alone, Messrs. Dynely & Ashmall, of Gray's Inn, defended upwards of twenty priests, and for the most part gratuitously, during the years 1765-7. The penal laws were evidently strangling the very life out of the Catholics of England, for a little later (1773) Bishop Challoner reported to Rome that there were only 707 adherents of the Church in Sussex, including clergy. By 1790 this attenuated number had still further fallen to 550. Next year came the Second Catholic Relief Act, legalizing our chapels and schools and opening to members of the old religion the professions of law and medicine, and this boon, in conjunction with the emigration of the French clergy and laity, which set in about this time, inaugurated the first epoch of the Catholic revival.

In those missions which were not supported by some wealthy or influential patron, the clergy were forced to subsist on the scanty offerings of their little flocks. Not a few of the mission houses—which contained also the secret chapel—were in a dilapidated condition and were often used as barns and farm buildings to further disguise their real character. In many of the towns things were little better, and matters did not always improve with the times. Twelve years after the Second Relief Act Father Selby, the first Catholic resident priest at Leeds since the Reformation, lived in a single room down a miserable alley behind the public shambles. It was one of his "economical expedients" to go to the butchers' stalls

* C. P. Cooper's "Parliamentary and Political Miscellanies."

late on Saturday night and buy as much refuse meat as would suffice for the ensuing week. Another "purgatory of a mission" was Ugthorpe, in Yorkshire, associated with the labors of the Rev. J. Harvey and the Rev. Sir W. Anderton, who were tried and convicted for recusancy in 1747.

Notwithstanding the difficulties of the time, the zeal of the missionary clergy as a body never flagged. The old mission registers are full of entries and items which show that not only were the spiritual interests of the faithful, living and departed, carefully attended to, but that even a considerable number of converts were continually being made. From the many instances that might be adduced in proof of this assertion, we give the following items relating to the ancient mission of Danby upon Yure, showing "what Mr. Oakley, S. J., did" from 1742 to 1758:

"1742—April 28. I administered (the last Sacraments to) Charles Robinson, of Wensley; recovered. May 2. I administered Frank Stabler, of East Wilton; he dyed. December 15. I received into the Church Margarite Stabler, of Thornton, wife of Will Stabler.

"1743—15 Nov. I christened at Danby a Scotchman beggar with one Legg, his son Claud.

"1744—February 6. I administered to Margaret More at E. Wilton the viaticum the 15 (sic) without the holy oiles. I was sent for too late. . . .

"1745—Jan. 12. I baptised at Ulshaw Bridge James son of Will Topham and Lucy his wife of Middleham: sponsors John Pease sen'r and Eliz. Allen, jun'r, for which I hardly escaped (banishment)."

So much for the strictly sacerdotal insertions. Here and there the entries in the old registers relate to such matters as "remedies against the Infection of Aer, sickness, &c.," or "against wormes in the stomach"—a strange blending of the physical with the spiritual which actually occurs in the "*Liber Baptizatorum*" of Father Thomas Worthington, O. P., the chaplain at Croxteth from 1713 to 1717.

The long missionary journeys which the priests of those days were forced to make for the purpose of attending to the wants of their scattered flocks were not the least arduous of the many duties which fell to the lot of men who can only be described as truly apostolic. The missionary visited all the towns and villages of his district periodically and made it a point to see personally all the known Catholics of the several localities. In many of these places the faith gradually died out owing to such causes as the penal laws and the extinction or apostasy of some family of influence which had hitherto made a mission possible. Instances of this species of spiritual destitution occurred at Boston, Lincolnshire, which was said to contain not a single Catholic in 1781, and at Linstead, Kent, this latter owing

to the defection about the same period of Lord Teynham, a collateral descendant of the Blessed Thomas More.

On the other hand, Catholics notably increased in some districts owing not only to immigration, but even to a steady flow of conversions. In 1743 Messrs. Evans & Co., of Bristol, imported a number of Flemish zinc workers, and among the clauses of the contract was one—illegal, of course, in the eyes of the law—allowing the foreign artificers the free exercise of their religion. Nearly forty years later (1780) Messrs. Bucknell & Blackwell, the potters, established a chapel at Cobridge (Staffordshire) for their Catholic working folk and otherwise promoted their spiritual welfare.

But such instances as those just given were like the proverbial visits of the angels. In almost every direction the terrible effects of the penal laws were to be seen in extinct missions, dwindling congregations and, as before observed, the total loss of the faith over entire districts. Father E. B. Newton, who was chaplain at Coldham Hall, Suffolk, the seat of the Rookwood-Gage family from 1772 to 1787, gives a sad picture of the state of Catholicism in those parts. This zealous priest had to traverse an area of some fifty miles, visiting en route Sudbury, Chilton, Clare and Melford, "where nothing is to be met with but ignorance, stupidity and sometimes a total neglect of religion." In one place the number of Catholics had fallen from 100 to 4.

But, on the other hand, the stream of conversions never ceased, and the list of those who thus nobly braved persecution, public opinion and the almost certain loss of worldly prospects was, all things considered, remarkably large. Bishop Milner's evidence as to this fact is tolerably well known, and in some few places the increase not only warranted, but even necessitated the establishment of a new mission. At Coventry the Catholics rose from six in 1757 to nearly one hundred in 1770. Mass was said at the house of a Mr. Bruckfield, a convert gentleman, who did much to improve the condition of his coreligionists. At Cowpen, in Northumberland, the number of the faithful also greatly increased a little later on, thanks to the fostering care of Mr. Marlowe Sidney, whose extraordinary conversion has recently been made the subject of a memoir by his granddaughter.

Needless to say, the missionary clergy in their peregrinations did not wear, or even, it may be said, openly carry anything that would in the least indicate their sacred calling. Even at Douay and the other foreign colleges the students were entered under assumed names, and this instinct of disguise, of course, became intensified on the mission. Thus Father Edward Coyney, who was at Draycott, Cresswell, during a large part of the eighteenth century, used to visit

his scattered flock disguised as a peddler, as did the missionary at Hathersage, in Derbyshire. In other places the priest often passed as the attorney, surgeon or scrivener (stock broker) of the family, and in a few isolated cases as a naval or military officer on furlough. Sir George Mannoek, Bart., the last of his family and a Jesuit priest, always dressed in the height of fashion, with powdered wig, lace ruffles, jeweled sword, etc., and, thanks to this aristocratic disguise, he was enabled to carry on his ministrations for many years, and even, it is said, to escape death at the hands of the "No Popery" mob during the Gordon riots. Not till about 1804 did priests in England begin to dress in black, and the Roman collar did not become fairly general till nearly forty years later. Bishop Douglass, of the London district (1790-1812), appears to have been the first of the Vicars Apostolic to wear his pectoral cross openly in every day life, and even this slight manifestation of episcopal rank was regarded by many of the older clergy as "a dangerous innovation." When the persecution was acute, which occurred during the reign of Elizabeth and under some of her successors down to Charles II., the utmost pains had been taken by the recusants to disguise as far as possible not only those places where Mass was said, but also the vessels and vestments used in the Holy Sacrifice. Special missals containing only the Ordinary of the Mass, the Proper of Saints and a few other liturgical parts had been authorized by the Holy See for use in Great Britain and Ireland. Pewter chalices and patens, as less likely to arouse the cupidity of the priest hunters, were also permitted, while vestments of gold and silk tissue, which could be easily packed away in unwanted receptacles, were also in vogue. For sick calls the priests often used oil stocks which screwed together lengthwise for the purpose of concealment in hollow walking sticks, riding whips and the like, and so on with the other *vasa sacra et indumenta* of the clergy. Specimens of these and other articles used in the days of persecution are preserved as thrice sacred relics at West Grinstead (Sussex), Sutton Park (Surrey), Stonyhurst and Lydiate (Lancashire) and at many other places where the lamp of the sanctuary flickered faintly on through the darkest hour of trial.

Though the ceremonies of worship were as a rule confined to the bare essentials of the ritual, the full grandeur of Catholic liturgy was occasionally seen even outside the privileged chapels of the Ambassadors. "Years before the mitigation of the penal laws," to quote from Dr. Oliver's "Collections," "Henry VIII., Lord Arundell, contemplated the erection of a splendid church ninety-five feet long in the interior, forty feet wide and as many in height." This daring project was carried into execution at Wardour Castle, and the fine church designed by Quarenghi was consecrated by Bishop Walmes-

ley, V. A., of the Western district, on October 31, 1776, and next day, the feast of All Saints, the sacred building was opened with a pomp unprecedented since the restoration of the Catholic faith in the reign of Queen Mary. When this unique incident occurred the whole body of British Catholicism still lay under "the full unrepealed burden of the penal laws," but thanks to the growing liberality of the times and the excitement caused by the American war, then at its height, this technical breach of the despotic code passed unnoticed. At Lulworth Castle, Dorsetshire, the personal friendship of George III. for the Weld family led to the erection of another splendid public chapel, and here in 1790, one year before the second relief act, was consecrated the Right Rev. John Carroll, first Bishop of Baltimore. Notwithstanding the utter exclusion of Catholics from the public life of the nation, some few even of the clergy came into prominence owing to circumstances and abilities which penal laws were unable to suppress.

Dr. Hussey, the friend of Johnson and afterwards first president of Maynooth and Bishop of Waterford, was employed by the government on an important diplomatic mission to Spain. Bishop Walmesley, F. R. S., the mathematician, was consulted by the Cabinet of George II. in 1750-1 with reference to the introduction of the "New Style" change in the calendar. Alban Butler's "Lives of the Saints" attracted the serious attention of Gibbon. The Rev. J. Berington, the historian of the Middle Ages, was well known in the literary circles of London long before the close of the century. Hugh Tootell, alias Charles Dodd, another Douay priest, was the author of numerous historical works, the most famous of which is the "Church History of England" from 1500 to 1688. It was this work that Dr. John Kirk, another sturdy old eighteenth century priest, wished to complete down to 1800, and though the project was never carried out, the extensive notes and memoirs collected for the purpose are among our most valuable documents. It is satisfactory to be able to state that these have quite recently been published by Messrs. Burns & Oates. Such names as the foregoing when coupled with those of the ever-to-be-revered Bishops Challoner and Milner, are more than sufficient to prove that the English Catholic clergy of the period were well abreast of their time in all that pertained to intellectual improvement, and its advancement by means of personal contributions to the common stock of knowledge.

The eighteenth century, if peculiarly the age of the depression of British Catholicism, was also the epoch in which were fostered those habits and conditions which in more recent and happier times have played so important a part in the history of the Church in these realms. The general scheme of missionary life with its connected

system of chapels, its voluntary subscriptions and the mutual dependence of clergy and people, received, so to speak, its finishing touches, and it needed only the genial sunshine of the "Second Spring" to bring to maturity fruit that had blossomed amidst the chill atmosphere of penal days. If the Catholics of England are so flourishing as a body to-day, it is because their forefathers, with the heroic optimism which comes from God, silently and amidst many tribulations, laid the foundations of what has gradually become a free Church in a free State.

BERNARD W. KELLY.

England.

Book Reviews

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF BISHOP CHALLONER (1691-1781). By *Edwin H. Burton, D. D.*, Vice President of St. Edmund's College, Old Hall; Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. In two volumes, 8vo., pp. xxiv.+403 and viii.+387. Illustrated. Longmans, Green & Co., 39 Paternoster Row, London; New York, Bombay and Calcutta. 1909.

Another splendid addition to the many important books on the history of the Church in England has come from the press under the title "The Life and Times of Bishop Challoner." Indeed, it is probably the most important book of the kind in recent years, if any time limit is to be set to its excellence. The wonder is that it has been delayed so long. As to the immediate occasion, the author says:

"When, some twelve years ago, I wrote a short account of Bishop Challoner for the Biographical Series issued by the Catholic Truth Society, that pamphlet was compiled entirely from published sources of information accessible to all, especially the biographies written by Challoner's contemporaries, Bishop Milner, the Rev. James Barnard and Charles Butler, K. C. But the meagre character of these showed how desirable it was that a thorough examination of the unpublished documents relating to his life and times should be made, and a search for new materials instituted.

"The results of this examination and search are embodied in these volumes, though it has proved impossible to include within their limits the whole mass of material which has accumulated in my hands. This material has been drawn from very varied sources, among which the official papers of the Vicars Apostolic naturally are of chief importance."

What a consoling declaration in regard to an important historical period—too much material! Generally the historian has to complain of a dearth of material. This abundance of data is especially fortunate when we consider the period with which it deals and its effect on the Catholic Church in England in later times. The author shows this clearly in the introduction. He says:

"In the history of the Catholic Church in England there is a dark and depressing epoch, the duration of which can be clearly defined as lasting from the Revolution of 1688 to the Catholic Relief Acts which put an end to the penal laws at the close of the eighteenth century. There is no period of which less has been recorded. It forms the Dark Ages of our later history. The practice of the Catholic faith was proscribed by law and the Church was again in the catacombs. Yet this epoch, which has been so completely lost sight of, is the connecting link that joins our present history with that of

the Church in the seventeenth century and the days of the martyrs, so that it is of vital interest and importance."

Bishop Challoner's prominence during this period is most remarkable. His very long life, beginning and ending at two most important points in history, was wrapped up very closely with all the intervening events. As Dr. Burton says:

"With this period the name of Bishop Challoner is forever identified. Born within three years of the Revolution, he lived to see the first Relief Act in 1778, and he died just ten years before the second, that of 1791, gave Catholics liberty of worship once more. For nearly half a century he was the leader and the foremost figure among English Catholics; and since his day no name has ever been held by them in greater veneration. Even now, when the details of his life are largely forgotten, his memory is held in reverence by many who know little or nothing of the work which he did. That his name thus became a household word among our people is due to two causes. First, there was the memory of the preëminent personal holiness of his life; and next, the fact that he was the writer of those works of devotion and instruction on which the succeeding generations of English Catholics were formed. For a long space of time his books were the most popular and widely used volumes in our literature; and, even now, to many who know nothing of his work as a Bishop, his name is familiar as the saintly author of the 'Garden of the Soul,' the 'Meditations' and the 'Memoirs of Missionary Priests.'

"The century which has elapsed since his death has seen a great revival of the Catholic Church in this country. In 1791 the penal laws were abolished; in 1829 emancipation was won; in 1850 the hierarchy was restored. The large influx of Catholics from Ireland and numerous conversions in England has multiplied our number many times over, and the land is covered with churches, schools, monasteries and convents. We have now a large and varied literature expressing the manifold activities of Catholicity. There is, above all, a vigorous spiritual life finding expression in the worthy celebration of the liturgy and public worship; in a vast system of organized charity; in countless associations for carrying on the religious and social work of the Church. Without minimizing either our shortcomings or difficulties, we may gladly recognize, when we compare the state of the Church in England to-day with its condition in the year of Bishop Challoner's death, that God has wrought His wonders in our midst and has given an increase beyond all hope.

"But this vigorous and flourishing growth has not been called into being by the creative power of God without reference to everything that went before. Rather it is the ordered development of the Cath-

olic life that preserved the hidden existence through the long winter of persecution. In the dark days was the seed sown which has given us so great a harvest. 'Euntes ibant et flebant mittentes semina sua.' To understand fully our present condition, its problems and its responsibilities, the seed-time must be studied so that we may come to know our life-story as a whole. It may be that in the joy and exhilaration which accompanied the rapid growth of our 'Second Spring' there was a tendency to forget the past in the stress and excitement of the present. Catholics who were exulting in their freshly won emancipation, in their recently gained hierarchy and in the new possibilities of the work lying ready to their hands, may be excused if, in the onrush and vigor of their new life, they did not dwell much on the old, narrow and contracted existence, painfully endured by their fathers. So little by little the dark days were forgotten."

His activity was amazing, and the wonder is how he accomplished so much, and in such varied ways. Many men have become famous who have not done a tithe of the work which fell to his lot, but his untiring zeal, his singleness of purpose and his constant application worked wonders. A glance at some of his works will show this.

"It is surprising how much even in our present spiritual life we owe to him in one form or another. To him is due our version of the Bible, the popular edition of the 'Imitation of Christ,' the present form of the 'Penny Catechism' learned by our children, to say nothing of the ever popular 'Garden of the Soul,' that almost universal manual of prayers, 'Think Well On't,' and the book of 'Meditations.' It was he who restored to our Missals and Breviaries the English Supplement with the festivals of English saints, who instituted the clergy conferences, who kept alive for us the memory of the English martyrs. Of existing institutions, St. Edmund's College, Old Hall, was built up after the fall of Douay College on the foundation of the school he had established at Standon Lordship; St. Wilfrid's College, Oakamoor, was founded by him at Sedgley Park, and the venerable English Colleges of Valladolid and Lisbon owe him so much that they may with justice claim him as their second founder.

"Besides all this, there was the work he did in supplying the needs of his own time. When books of instruction were needed he wrote them; if a controversy became necessary, he undertook it. In turn he gave to his people not only prayer-books and meditation books, but lives of the saints, a martyrology, a summary of Bible history, a short church history and translations of the chief work of St. Augustine, St. Francis of Sales and St. Teresa. All these labors were carried on, not only in addition to the ordinary work of a Bishop, but under conditions often arduous and hampering; some-

times, indeed, under the stress of actual persecution. The story of Bishop Challoner's life, then, is very far from being a mere record of passive endurance, and there are many points where it throws a stream of light upon the practices and institutions of to-day."

The book is indispensable to a right understanding of this very important historical epoch. The story is inspiring, and will act as a spur to churchmen in succeeding generations. It illumines the present, and its rays will extend far into the future.

DAS EVANGELIUM VOM GOTTESSOHN. Von Dr. Anton Seitz, Professor der Apologetik an der Universität München.
JESUS CHRISTUS. Vorträge auf dem Hochschulkurs zu Freiburg (I. B.), 1908. Gehalten von verschiedenen Professoren. Freiburg: Herder (St. Louis, Mo.), 1908.

The question which the Incarnate Word put to the Pharisees of old, "What think ye of Christ?" has to be answered in every age and by every individual to whom "the good news" of His mission has been made known. And as Christ Himself confounded the skeptics around Him by retorting on them their own principles, so has His vicegerents at the present day to refute the captious critics. This they can hope to do only by employing a searching historical examination of the documents and data whereon the truth of the Divine Sonship of Christ is based. But here the parallelism terminates, both as regards the defendant and the objector. For whereas Christ stood visibly and spoke audibly before His enemies, His followers to-day have no such sensible advantage; and while He could place His adversaries beyond the possibility of their asking "any more questions," His present disciples, with their personal and circumstantial limitations, have to pursue the unending tergiversations of their opponents. It is these devious windings of modern criticism that makes the labor of the present defender of the faith so incessant and so intricate. No brief or easy task at any time is it to follow the labyrinthine ways of the naturalistic spirit in its endeavor to escape the supernatural; but when that spirit has trained itself by the supple discipline of modern science and has shaped itself with the elusive forms of German idealism the efforts of him whose mission it is to defend the supernatural and objective truth of revelation meet with peculiar difficulties. Fortunately he is not left without helpful aids and instruments, some entailed, of course, by his vocation and others by the steadily if not too rapidly growing apologetic literature. To the latter class belong such works as are introduced above. The sub-title of the first book—"A Defense (Apologie) of the Essential Sonship of Christ Against the Attack (Kritik) of the

Latest German Theology"—indicates the author's specific purpose—*i. e.*, to be at once critical and constructive. The first chapter reflects predominately the former of these two characteristics, embodying as it does a very searching exposition of German "evangelical liberalism"—especially of Harnack's "semi-dogmatic Christianity"—which, developing to its ultimate consequences the individualistic exegesis set up by Luther, seeks to deprive the Gospel narrative, especially Christ's testimony to Himself, of all doctrinal, *i. e.*, definitely intellectual content. The succeeding chapters are primarily constructive, though the positive argumentation is continuously developed over against the adverse speculation of the rationalistic criticism. These chapters unfold our Lord's testimonies to His Divine Sonship—the Gospel testimonies in their doctrinal and practical elements and implications. The closing chapter develops the evidence for the same truth as presented by Christ's messengers—the Precursor, the Evangelists, and particularly St. Paul. We cannot enter into any details of the author's exposition. We must leave this to the student, promising him that he will be well rewarded by the perusal of a work than which he will scarcely find another that within an equal compass so thoroughly and so comprehensively, so strongly and so reverently vindicates the Divinity of Christ against the insidious attacks of present day rationalism.

The second book mentioned above embodies a series of lectures—treating of the same general subject as the volume just described—given before an audience composed principally of the priests of the Diocese of Freiburg (Congregatio Mariana Sacerdotalis) assembled at the university in the latter city. The lectures were delivered by the well-known professors, Braig, Hoberg, Krieg, Weber, of Freiburg, and Esser, of Bonn. These names guarantee the scholarship, it need hardly be said, of the respective contributions. There are in all seventeen lectures. Two by Professor Hoberg treat of the historicity of the Gospels; three by Dr. Weber expound the Scriptural testimonies to our Lord Divinity; three by Dr. Braig on the beliefs of men outside the Church concerning Christ's person, teaching and institutions; four by Professor Esser, two on Protestant and modernist Christology and two on the dogma of the Hypostatic Union; three by Dr. Krieg on our Lord as the Way, the Truth and the Life. The appendix contains two lectures by Professors Hoberg and Braig on Modernism. Needless to say that while these lectures throughout are both solid in their argumentation and scholarly in their wealth of fact, they have a literary finish befitting the occasion of their delivery. The personal charm of the spoken word pervades the pages and makes them pleasant without ceasing to be instructive reading.

MEMOIRS OF SCOTTISH CATHOLICS DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. Selected from hitherto inedited manuscripts by *William Forbes Leith, S. J.* Two volumes, 8vo., pp. 381 and 415. Vol. I.: "The Reign of King Charles I., 1627-1649. Vol. II.: "From Commonwealth to Emancipation, 1647-1793." With illustrations. Longmans, Green & Co., 39 Paternoster Row, London; New York, Bombay and Calcutta. 1909.

The student of history ought to be very grateful for this book. It is history in the best sense of that much abused word, for it is really written by the saintly men who were the principal actors in the events narrated and who wrote not for publication or notoriety, but for truth. In the introduction we read:

"A very homely proverb tells us that no man knows where the shoe pinches better than he who wears it. However soft to the touch the leather is shown to be, however high the repute of the maker, no argument derived from the evidence of others can outweigh the statement based on personal experience.

"We have heard the history of religion in Scotland from many a friend of the Covenant, from many an admirer of the Royalists, but a personal narrative of the sufferings endured by the members of the ancient faith has not been put before the world.

"The letters here printed were written from Scotland during the worst times by men who were bearing the extremity of the persecution. We hear at first hand of the courage, patience, resource and religious fortitude with which large numbers of Scots bore for generations trials which are without a parallel for severity and protraction, even in the annals of our strong and long enduring nation. In a previous volume of 'Narratives of Scottish Catholics' their history has been traced in the days of Mary Stuart and of King James VI. The documents now printed illustrate their troubles during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a period during which their interesting history has been too often ignored, amidst the momentous conflicts of the Crown, the Covenant and the Parliament.

"The majority of the letters which follow were written by the Jesuit missionaries in Scotland to the general of their society in Rome. Some were actors in or witnesses of the events described. In other cases the letters were written abroad by a superior or representative who had retired for the nonce to the Continent, where he could transact business with less fear of his letters being intercepted. None of these men were thinking of history or publication when they wrote. They recorded the daily life of the Scottish Catholics just as it passed before their eyes."

In some ways the letters are disappointing, but through no fault of the writers. They hardly ever mention the names and abodes of their principal friends, and even the names of the most heroic char-

acters are frequently omitted, but when we remember the multiplicity of English spies, especially at news centres like Paris, Rome and Venice, and the high price paid by the English Government for information about Papists, we are not surprised.

"It is to be regretted that we do not know more about the lives of these religious heroes. The letters and memoirs here printed form their best, perhaps their only monuments. Of none of them do we possess a portrait. Yet as we look at the pictures of the now ruined castles, halls and towers in which they once lived, sometimes as chaplains, sometimes as prisoners, we can realize how Spartan, even at the best, their lives must have been, how unendurably oppressive, when incarcerated in them, the victims of the religious passions of those days.

"In an appendix will be found a series of chronological notes of the legal proceedings adopted against Catholics, which proceedings Pitcairn considered as 'forming a prominent part of the ecclesiastical and political history of the country.'"

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this valuable addition to the true history of the persecutions of Catholics for the faith, which is gradually being completed and which is astonishing all thoughtful, serious men, irrespective of creeds.

Those who are building up libraries for themselves and others should take care to get possession of books like this at once, for if they have been long in making their appearance, they will be more eagerly sought and may go out of print early. They are not likely to be reprinted in the near future.

EUCCHARISTIE UND BUSZSAKRAMENT in den Ersten Sechs Jahrhunderten der Kirche von *Jerhard Rauschen*, *Th. D., Ph. D.* Freiburg (I. B.), Herder (St. Louis, Mo.). Pp. vi.+204. 1908. Pr., \$1.40.

Few if any subjects connected with the history of dogma are so important or so difficult as those which concern the Sacraments of the Eucharist and of Penance in the early Church. Hence the ever growing literature centering thereon. Probably one of the most widely known of these works is the late Mr. Lea's "History of Auricular Confession" (N. Y., 1896). Mr. Lea has in his three volumes brought together a very large mass of material, much of which is drawn from original sources and is set forth with an appearance of judicious scholarship. On the other hand, it is now well known that Mr. Lea was very imperfectly acquainted with Christian antiquities. He seems to have known very little of the classic work of Mormus (*Commentarius historicus de disciplina in administratione sacramenti paenitentiae*, Paris, 1651). Moreover,

he treats almost entirely of the history of confession in mediæval and modern times. While excluding the Protestant literature on the subject, he lacked that insight into Catholic teaching and practice which would have enabled him to interpret accurately the pertinent Catholic literature. Hence he finds difficulties where there are none and exaggerates what there are. He is convinced that the obligation of confession as a divine institution was first taught by Hugh of St. Victor and Peter the Lombard. It is not to be expected, of course, that Mr. Lea had a high appreciation of the moral influence of the confessional or that he should have been able to make statistics prove, satisfactorily to himself, the contrary. The foregoing is the estimate passed by Professor Rauschen in the volume at hand. Confirmation of this estimate may be had by a study of the present work and more explicitly from a critique to which he further refers (Boudinhon: *Sur l'histoire de la pénitence à propos d'un ouvrage récent*, a paper which appeared in *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse*, Paris, 1897).

The present work is divided about equally between the two subjects—the Sacrament of the Eucharist and of Penance. In the first part the early Christian teaching on the Real Presence, on Transubstantiation, the essence of the Sacrifice of the Mass, the origin of the Canon and the *Epiklese* (invocation) is summarized and analyzed. The second part does the same for the Sacrament of Penance—the early penitential discipline, the doctrine on sin, the practice of public and private confession, these being the main lines of discussion. The sum of testimony adduced establishes the final verdict that the dogmatic teaching of the Church on the two sacraments has perdured from the very beginning unchanged, though the unessential modifications of the conditions required for their valid and licit reception and ministration have varied with time and place. In presenting this mass of evidence the author, while critical throughout and thus meeting the demands of the professional student, has not overladen the text with technicalities. The book is therefore one which the educated general reader will be able to utilize with profit and edification.

THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA. An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline and History of the Catholic Church. Edited by Charles G. Herbermann, Ph. D., LL. D., Edward A. Pace, Ph. D., D. D., Thomas J. Shahan, D. D., Conde B. Pallen, Ph. D., LL. D., John J. Wynne, S. J., assisted by numerous collaborators. In fifteen volumes. Royal octavo. Vol. VI: Fathers—Gregory. New York: Robert Appleton Company.

As one places this book on the table before him he notices that it is as large as previous volumes; that the paper is the same firm, clean

sheet that presents a surface sufficiently hard to take impressions from type and plate without yielding to them or scattering them; that the full page pictures are on the same highly calendered paper that gives perfect results; that most of the distinguished names of contributors to previous volumes appear again, and that new ones, equally distinguished in their particular fields, are being added; that the work is progressing steadily and successfully along the original lines, coming down in this volume to Gregory; and that it grows in interest and value with each succeeding volume.

As we open the book at the first article, entitled "Fathers of the Church," by Rev. John Chapman, O. S. B., prior of St. Thomas' Abbey, Erdington, Birmingham, England, with its sixteen pages of closely printed, double column, large octavo pages of well written and well condensed matter on this interesting subject, and its page and a half of still more closely printed bibliography, we appreciate the Catholic Encyclopedia. Where else could the ordinary reader find that information in such form; and, for that matter, where could the extraordinary reader get it without access to the authorities mentioned in the bibliography, which are accessible to a very few persons only, and which require a scholarship in the student that is rare? This article is a good illustration of the value of the Encyclopedia. It is bringing to our doors from all over the world the best knowledge on Catholic matters—a knowledge which heretofore has been to a very great degree almost inaccessible, and it is perpetuating it in a form which will preserve it forever.

We cannot imagine any one, even moderately interested in Catholic affairs, who becomes even casually acquainted with the Catholic Encyclopedia and who does not want to possess it and keep it near him. It must not be imagined, however, that the first article in this volume is exceptional. All that we have said of it could be said as truthfully of all the leading articles in all the volumes, and we have this one as an illustration because it is the first.

We might have turned to the end of the book and taken the seven-page article on Gregory the Great, by Rev. Gilbert R. Hudleston, O. S. B., Downside Abbey, England, or the four-page article on Gregory VII., by Rev. Thomas Oestreich, O. S. B., Maryhelp Abbey, North Carolina, to illustrate the same truth.

We feel that attention cannot be called too often to the care that is given to subjects of comparatively minor importance, for we believe that this is one of the best tests of a book of the kind. There is good reason to fear that in the making of encyclopedias very often the shorter articles are entrusted to persons who have no special fitness for writing them, and who merely transcribe the required number of words from any author who happens to be at hand. A

glance at the short articles in the Catholic Encyclopedia will show that they receive great attention, and are generally done by men with international reputations for learning.

We shall close with another repetition—each volume has a distinct and independent value, and therefore the book should be bought as it comes from the press.

BOUDDHISME OPINIONS SUR L'HISTOIRE DE LA DOGMATIQUE. Par *L. de la Poussin*. Paris. Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie, rue de Rennes, 117.

In this publication the author resumes the lectures which he delivered at the Institut Catholique in Paris during the sessions of May and June, 1908. In a very interesting preamble he calls attention to the fact of the remarkable sympathy and indiscreet zeal evoked by Buddhism in European countries and elsewhere, especially in America, England and Germany; whereas, the other Indian religions meet with indifference even on the part of studious and inquisitive readers and scholars. For any one who is familiar with the literature of India there is no doubt that Vedism, with its grand mythological and divine figures; Brahmanism, with its profound theories and rational discipline; Hindooism, with its humble and fitful devotions, are all much superior in many respects to Buddhism, in which everything is offered, so to say, at second hand—mythology, doctrine and piety. But people indulge in strange illusions on the subject of Buddhism. Many writers attribute to it the unique privilege heard of in history of religions, viz., that it possesses a purely rationalistic philosophy, an ideal compatible with modern science, a morality devoid of God and of the soul. Moreover, they pretend that having been organized several centuries before the Christian era, it made its way in the West as far as the Mediterranean. Hence its success and the honors indiscreetly paid to it. It merits our attention, however, though not for these reasons. Its legend, its humanity, its depth, its historical character, its founder, its brotherhood, its canons and its sects, its iconography, bringing it into dependance on Grecian art, its power of propagandism and its wide conquest of the far East, all these are titles which demand recognition from the student who is concerned with the history of religions. The interest evoked by Buddhism in some scholars goes so far as to make them believe that Europe itself should go to the school of Cakyamuni.

According to the writer of this book, Buddhism must be of deep interest for the reason that its votaries, richly endowed with the gifts of nature, are familiar with almost all the ideas and all the aspirations of which human thought and human heart are susceptible. They afford a striking confirmation of the principle "*anima naturaliter*

Christiana." Besides the introduction, the work comprises five chapters, as follows: 1. "Teaching of Cakyamuni." 2. "Metaphysical Systems of Buddhism." 3. "Philosophical and Religious Buddhism." 4. "Career of the Future Buddha." 5. "Buddhism and the Supernatural Hindoo Tantrisme."

A COMPENDIUM OF CATECHETICAL INSTRUCTION. An English Adaptation of Very Rev. Angelo Raineri's Work. By Rev. John Hagan, Vice Rector of the Irish College, Rome. Large 8vo., two volumes, 536 pages, net, \$4.25. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The common objection will probably be made to this book that we have enough catechisms already, and while we must confess that we think it best for every man to select one standard work of this kind and stick to it in practice, we must at the same time acknowledge that the field is practically exhaustless, provided only that he who tills it knows how to handle the plough. If he doesn't, he will soon find himself lost in the weeds that will grow up about him.

The Holy Father's Encyclical, "De Christiana Doctrina Tradenda," has been the occasion of much industry in this field, and it has brought the present work before English readers.

Says the announcement: What the Papal Decree has shown the necessity of is not so much books that supply outlines, or amplify material, as the application of the material already at hand in the Roman Catechism to a course of simple, plain, sound, effective and intelligible instructions.

Such a work is confessedly a desideratum, and such a treatise—an English adaptation of Very Rev. Angelo Raineri's work—we now beg to offer to the English-speaking clergy, under the Editorship of the Rev. John Hagan, Vice-Rector of the Irish College, Rome.

Father Raineri's Masterpiece was the result of forty years' incessant study of the Roman Catechism in the shape of practical instructions which rendered his name famous in his day, and attracted thousands upon thousands to the Cathedral of Milan, and which, in their collected form, constitute what competent authorities describe as the very best Course of Catechetical Instruction.

The following approbation of the Cardinal Archbishop of Milan is prefixed to the Sixth Edition:

"Optimum prædicti Operis iterum edendi, emendandi et adaugendi consilium summopere commendamus, novamque editionem subijcimus examini Reverendissimi Domini Friderici Sala,

S. Th. Doct. Prot. Ap. huius Metropolitanae Archipresbyteri, e conlegio Censurum Curiae Nostrae.

"Mediolani VIII Kal. Sept. MCM. †Andreas C., Card. Archiepiscopus."

Father Ranieri's work is no mere dry exposition of Christian Doctrine. It was his invariable practice, to which he attached much importance, to devote the conclusion of each Instruction to the impressing of some moral lesson or some Gospel truth, arising out of the subject of his discourse. When this is taken into account, and when it is remembered that he was a man of highly edifying life, deep theological acquirements and shining example—while his Instructions were remarkable for orderly treatment, clearness of exposition and impressive, though simple, eloquence—it will readily be understood how it was that, during the long period of forty years, his Instructions went straight to the hearts of the vast crowds that flocked round his pulpit in the glorious Cathedral of Milan. Well could the editors of the first edition draw attention to "the purity of his doctrine, precision of his language, lucidity of thought, order of treatment, appropriateness of Scriptural quotation and steady flow of eloquence."

The adaptation now offered to English-speaking readers of this most admirable compendium aims at conveying as far as possible the spirit of the original. But with it is embodied a New Translation of the "Catechismus Romanus" (the "Catechism of the Council of Trent"), the use of which has recently been insisted on by the Sovereign Pontiff as a text-book for Catechetical Instructions throughout the world. The arrangement is such that the various chapters or parts of chapters in the Catechism of the Council of Trent will be prefixed to the corresponding Instruction—thus giving at one and the same time the "Official Text" of all Catechetical Instructions, along with the very best adaptation of that Text to popular intelligence. Accordingly, the entire publication possesses features which are not to be found in existing books of the kind in the English language.

THE FAITH OF CATHOLICS CONFIRMED BY SCRIPTURE AND ATTESTED BY THE FATHERS OF THE FIRST FIVE CENTURIES OF THE CHURCH. Compiled Revs. J. Berington and J. Kirk. Revised and recast by Rev. J. Waterworth, with Preface, corrections and additions by Right Rev. Monsignor Capel, D. D. Three volumes, 8vo., pp. 1,486. Third enlarged edition. New York: Pustet & Co.

"The Faith of Catholics" is a classic without competitor. It took its place as a standard as soon as it appeared, and it has never been supplanted. It has improved with each succeeding

edition, and, like good wine, grows better as it grows older. The explanation of Monsignor Capel is worthy of reproduction:

"To justify the so-called Reformation, to oppose a return to the Old Church, 'the Mother and Mistress of Churches,' it is persistently asserted that Rome has added to the 'Faith once delivered to the Saints,' that she has imposed on the One Fold practices and doctrines which are no part of the Gospel of the Shepherd of our souls. It is triumphantly pointed out that as late as 1854 and 1870 the dogma of the Immaculate Conception and of the Infallibility of the Pope have been added to the Creed of the Roman Church.

"Catholics meet this grave charge by saying that all Revelation was completed and closed by Jesus Christ, who committed it as the 'depositum fidei' to the Divine-Human Organism, the Church appointed and authorized to be the sole Teacher, Guardian, and Judge of this Revelation. To fulfill her mission the 'assistance' of the Holy Spirit, but not 'inspiration,' is given her. Consequently she has no power to add to the truths of Revelation.

"The decisions made in the first Council held at Jerusalem by the Apostles to those of the last convened by the Chief Pastor of the Old Church at the Vatican in 1869 are not additions to the Revelation, but explicit declarations of what is contained in Revelation. The consubstantiality of the Father and Son, the Trinity in Unity, the one Person and the two Natures in Jesus Christ, the question of Grace and Freewill, all defined and decreed by the General Councils held successively in the first five centuries, add naught to the substance of the Faith.

"In like manner the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception and the Infallibility of the Pope are respectively legitimate logical consequences of revealed truths.

"The Catholic Faith is no mere aggregation of theological decisions, but an organic body of truths, explaining, confirming and perfecting one another. Times and circumstances may concentrate the mind of the Church on one of these truths rather than on another, and thus give it universal prominence. Or controversy and heresy may necessitate clear, definite, formulated decisions of the Faith. At another time the very devotions of the faithful will evolve precise statements of doctrine. But in all this the explicit declarations are but the unfolding of the implicit propositions of Revelation.

"This 'Development of Doctrine,' or, as it is technically called in theology, 'Explication of Christian Doctrine,' must from the nature of the case ever be going on.

"This would be the common-sense reply to the objection that Rome has added to the Faith. To many it would be sufficient; to others it would be more satisfactory to see the expressions of the Teachers of the early Christian ages concerning the present formulated Catholic doctrines.

"The task of compiling such a body of evidence was undertaken by the Rev. Fathers Berington and Kirk in the early part of this century. The book found such favor that the Rev. Father Waterworth undertook to republish it some years after it was out of print. For 'the due execution of his task, it was thought necessary to read the entire works of the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers of the first five centuries; to give an entirely new translation of nearly all the extracts—especially those from the Greek writers; and to use such aids as numerous authors have furnished toward distinguishing the genuine from the spurious or doubtful works of those early ages of the Church.' To that labor four years of severe study and reading have been devoted.

"It is this edition of Father Waterworth which is now given to the public with sundry corrections. There has been added to it a chapter from the work of the learned and venerated Bishop Ullathorne on the Immaculate Conception, a translation of the First Dogmatic Constitution of the General Council of the Vatican, and a chronological list of the Popes of the first five centuries."

A SPIRITUAL CANTICLE OF THE SOUL AND THE BRIDEGROOM CHRIST. By *St. John of the Cross*. Translated by David Lewis, with corrections and Introduction by Benedict Zimmerman, O. C. D., Prior of St. Luke's, Wincanton. 8vo., pp. xiv.+317. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Those holy souls that love the contemplative life will have a warm welcome for this work of the great master. Being the result, as all his works are, of meditation rather than of study, it takes all his students, as he took himself, up to God. Its history is its best recommendation:

"The present volume of the works of St. John of the Cross contains the explanation of the 'Spiritual Canticle of the Soul and the Bridegroom Christ.' The two earlier works, the 'Ascent of Mount Carmel' and the 'Dark Night of the Soul,' dealt with the cleansing of the soul, the unremittant war against even the smallest imperfections standing in the way of union with God; imperfections which must be removed, partly by strict self-discipline, partly by the direct intervention of God, who, searching 'the reins and hearts' by means of heavy interior and exterior trials, purges away whatever is displeasing to Him. Although

some stanzas refer to this preliminary state, the chief object of the 'Spiritual Canticle' is to picture under the Biblical simile of Espousals and Matrimony the blessedness of a soul that has arrived at union with God.

"The Canticle was composed during the long imprisonment St. John underwent at Toledo, from the beginning of December, 1577, till the middle of August the following year. Being one of the principal supporters of the Reform of St. Teresa, he was also one of the victims of the war waged against her work by the Superiors of the old branch of the Order. St. John's prison was a narrow, stifling cell, with no window, but only a small loophole through which a ray of light entered for a short time of the day, just long enough to enable him to say his office, but affording little facility for reading or writing. However, St. John stood in no need of books. Having for many years meditated on every word of Holy Scripture, the Word of God was deeply written in his heart, supplying abundant food for conversation with God during the whole period of his imprisonment. From time to time he poured forth his soul in poetry; afterwards he communicated his verses to friends."

The book is arranged in forty stanzas, and the following is the division of the work: Stanzas I to IV are introductory; V to XII refer to the contemplative life in its earlier stages; XIII to XXI, dealing with what the Saint calls the Espousals, appertain to the Unitive way, where the soul is frequently but not habitually admitted to a transient union with God, and XXII to the end describe what he calls Matrimony, the highest perfection a soul can attain this side of the grave. The reader will find an epitome of the whole system of mystical theology in the explanation of Stanza XXVI.

The Daughters of St. Theresa will revel in it; other contemplative orders will study it lovingly, and religious generally will derive much profit from it. Saints in the world will find it a great help in the accomplishment of that very difficult thing of being in the world without being of it.

THE GLORIES OF LOURDES. By the *Chanoine Justin Rousseil*, formerly Professor of Philosophy, Curé of "Les Saintes Hosties" at Pézilla-Rivière, Pyrénées-Orientales, France. Translated from the second edition by the Rev. Joseph Murphy, S. J. 12mo., pp. xxiv.+326, illustrated. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.

There is no better judge of the value of a work on Lourdes than the Bishop of Tarbes, who takes such an active interest in

the Holy Shrine, and devotes so much time to it. He says to the author:

"The title you have chosen sums everything in a nutshell. 'The Glories of Lourdes'—how many promises are contained in these words! And you do not disappoint the reader's expectation. The origin of our shrines, the marvels which accompany and follow the Apparitions of the Immaculate Virgin, the prodigies which the piety of the faithful works in answer to the miracle of Divine power wrought by the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, the whole world hastening to the Grotto of Massabielle and multiplying the manifestations of faith capable of moving mountains, since they very often touch the hearts most hardened to supernatural influence—this is what you represent and depict in a series of pictures animated with colors of life the most intense, and, I might add, the most glorious."

It might be said that there are so many books about Lourdes that there is not room for another. But as another reviewer has said, in the case of a sanctuary still prolific in wonders, later books have certain natural advantages over earlier ones; each year adds to the number and variety of the marvels effected there. The translator says:

"This work was first published in France last year, on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Apparitions at Lourdes. The author, in his preface, gives the reasons which led him to add another book to the many already written about Lourdes. However, the fact that the first edition was exhausted in eight months, and the chorus of praise with which it was greeted by the Catholic press in France, seem to contradict the author's modest estimate of his work, and to show that it has not proved superfluous. Moreover, it has won the praise of His Holiness Pius X, of two Cardinals, and of the Bishops of Perpignan, Tarbes and Pamiers. The letters of these Bishops were given in full in the French edition, but reasons of space have unfortunately compelled us to omit two of them, as well as a long list of French journals and reviews which gave this work very high praise. The notice from that important periodical, *L'Ami du Clerge*, omitted here for the same reasons, described this book as a brilliant work of science, apologetics, and eloquence (October 29th, 1908).

Moreover, by the advice of authority, it has been translated into the four principal languages of Europe, in the hope that, as it had met with so favorable a reception in France, it might prove interesting to a wider circle of readers in other countries, as giving a complete history on broad lines of the famous Grotto of Lourdes during the last fifty years."

It is undoubtedly the best popular work on the subject, and may be recommended to those who have been there, and who wish to recall and fix their impressions; to those who hope to go there, and to profit most by their visit, and to those who may not have the hope of a visit, but who wish to increase their devotion to the Blessed Virgin by reading of those wonderful and recent manifestations of her power.

The illustrations are excellent and add much to the value of the work, being made from good photographs.

BREVIARIUM ROMANUM. Four volumes, 16mo. Length, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches; width, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches; thickness, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Diary form. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Here is a good example of the evolution of the Roman Breviary—we mean, of course, as to form, and one is apt to explain when he sees it, “the least thing in Breviaries.” The transition from the large clumsy volume of a few years ago, with its tiresome weight and poor type and heavy white paper to the dainty book before us is a surprising and pleasant transition.

We all remember the first attempt to produce a pocket Breviary, and we can recall the little fat, clumsy volume which was the result. It had a short life, and one is tempted to wonder what became of it. It must have had a large sale, because it was the best of its kind then, but no one is so poor as to do it reverence now.

Then came a pocket Breviary, from the press of Benziger Brothers, that was a quick advancement. It was made possible by the introduction of the thin but firm India paper which rendered the making of small, light books easy.

But the 18 mo. did not hold sway long, for the clerical body had learned the possibilities in the making of Breviaries, and demanded a still more compact pocket volume. The 48 mo. was the answer to this demand, and it was a satisfactory answer. The reduction of the Breviary to the size of the *Horae Diurnae* was something which no one dreamed of a few years ago.

The sincerest of all flatteries, imitation, quickly followed the appearance of this book, and all the liturgical publishers brought out similar editions.

All reasonable demands seemed to be satisfied, and it was hard to see how any advancement could be made in this field. And yet advancement was possible. Keeping before them the true end to be attained, Benziger Brothers have set before the

public the best pocket Breviary ever published, and one that it is difficult if not impossible to supercede.

The best pocket Breviary should give the largest and clearest type in the smallest space—that is, the smallest pocket space. This does not mean that the book must be narrow and short and thick, but it means that it should correspond closely to the length and width of the ordinary coat pocket, and economize in thickness. By following this rule, Benziger Brothers have produced a thin book which slips easily into the pocket, and presents to the eye when opened a page that can easily and pleasantly be read without the slightest strain. This is especially important for those who read in moving vehicles

Another advantage of the new Breviary is the small space which it occupies in the traveling bag, particularly if one is going on a long journey and has to take more than one part with him.

If you want the traveler's Breviary, get the Peerless.

L'EGLISE ET LE MONDE BARBARE. One vol. de 500 pages in -8 raisin. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

This publication forms the third of the 8 volumes of the History of the Church, by Fernand Mourret, professor of history at the Seminary of St. Sulpice, Paris. It has just lately appeared. It comprises the period from the fifth to the tenth century. The narrative begins at the fall of the Roman Empire of the West, in 476, and ends at the establishment of the German Holy Empire, in 962.

The ruin of the Roman Empire and its institutions, the end of paganism, the Christian beginnings in France, England, Germany, Spain, the Slavic and Scandinavian countries; the formation of the temporal powers of the Holy See, the civilizing work of Charlemagne, the destinies of the Church during the troubled period of the dismemberment of the Empire and the appearance of the feudal regime, the powerful social action of St. Nicholas the First, the tragical history of the popes of the "iron age" and the renewal of the work of Charlemagne by the Emperor Otto the First—these events form the principal subject-matter of the work.

In this interesting sketch the writer aims especially at bringing into striking relief the development of the inner life of the Church, her dogmas, her fruits of sanctity and her social action on the nations.

In his endeavor to be, above all, scientific and, in the language of the day, objective, the author has adopted as his rule

the words of Pope Leo XIII, in his Encyclical on History, 18 August, 1883, "It is necessary to endeavor to refute lies and falsehoods by having recourse to the sources—always remembering that the first law of history is not to dare to tell a lie; the second, not to fear to tell the truth, *ne quid falsi audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.*"

This impartial and scientific narrative of events is of the greatest value as a means of defense against the incessant attacks aimed at the Church. The very actual questions of the coercitive power of the Church, the origin of duels and ordeals—the fable of the so-called Popess Joan, the false decretals, the origin of the property and the immunities of the clergy, the social role of the monks, the lamentable influence exercised by secular princes upon certain popes of the tenth century—all these questions and many more are dealt with as completely as the scope of the work admits.

OUTLINES OF GENERAL HISTORY. By *V. A. Renouf, B. A.* Edited by William Starr Myers, Ph. D., Princeton University. With maps and illustrations. 12mo., pp. xx.+500. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909.

The skill required in constructing a general history of the world in a 12 mo. volume of 500 pages is very great. Any one who has tried to condense a large subject into small space without destroying the sense as well as the interest realizes this. Professor Renouf has succeeded in doing this very difficult thing. He explains his purpose and plan thus:

"This book aims to relate in the simplest possible language the grand outlines of the world's history. The dominant force in the modern world is that complex historical compound called 'Western Civilization.' The history of that Western Civilization must, therefore, occupy the greatest part of any modern General History, no matter whether it is intended for young or for older students. In condensing the history of the West into so small a compass, much had to be omitted which another writer might consider of importance.

"An Elementary History like the present, then, always represents a small selection from an immense range of facts. The reader has a right to ask by what principles the author was guided in making his selection. I tried to do the following: First, to show the continuity of history, or, in other words, to make the reader see that the present has grown out of the past. Secondly, to emphasize those events and institutions a knowledge of which is most useful to persons interested in public reforms in

the East. Thirdly, to show the value of high ideals of truth, and the advantage of liberal institutions. Under this third heading I confess to a personal bias. I believe, however, that the book is free from religious or racial prejudice."

Readers of the book will cheerfully acknowledge that the Professor has succeeded admirably. If he does not catch the Catholic point of view, or fails to see the force of Catholic arguments or controverted points, or does not go to Catholic sources of information as often as we think he should, it is probably because he is not a Catholic, rather than because he wishes to be unfair.

In a work of this kind it is practically impossible for an author to go to original sources, and the writer freely acknowledges that. With these qualifications the book is very good.

SAN CELESTINO. By *John Ayscough*, author of "Marotz," "Dromina," etc. 12mo., pp. 346. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

We are more than glad to welcome the exception to an unpleasant rule. On more than one occasion we have felt obliged to protest against stories written about themes requiring a knowledge of Catholic affairs not possessed by the ordinary writer of fiction, even though he or she be prominent and successful in other respects. We have very rarely met a secular author who could describe priest, churchmen and churchwomen, and deal with their affairs with even a fair degree of verisimilitude. Still more rarely have we met a secular writer who could introduce his readers to the human part of such persons without blundering and exciting ridicule or anger. And, rarest of all, to find a secular author who could create the ecclesiastical atmosphere without which it is impossible to make ecclesiastics live.

The book before us is the exception. In it the author deals with Pope Celestine V, who was called to the Papacy from the hermit's cave where he dwelt in the midst of the large community which had gathered about him and which revered him as a saint.

Beginning with his boyhood as a member of a large family, describing his gradual growth in sanctity as he passed through the seminary, which he left for a life of solitude, and founded the community which was named after him, up to the Pontifical Throne and back again to his hermit's cave—the author shows a knowledge of ecclesiastics and ecclesiastical affairs that is indeed rare. More than that, he shows a familiarity with Italy and Italians that enables him to create an atmosphere that is charming.

In the latter respect he resembles Marion Crawford, as a writer he resembles the late Henry Harlan. He has the gentle, refined touch of Harlan which is as rare as it is charming. Mr. Harlan, among later popular novelists, taught us to love the beautiful and pure in fiction. More than any other recent secular writer he proved that virtue is sweet and vice is bitter, no matter how thick the sugar coating may be. Mr. Ayscough is emphasizing that truth, and we sincerely hope that he will be sufficiently encouraged not to be tempted away from the field that awaits him, and in which the laborers are all too few.

DIE MENSCHENOPFER DER ALTEN HEBRAER UND DER BENACHTBARTEN VOLKER. Von Dr. E. Mader, S. D. S. Herder, Freiburg (St. Louis), 1909. Pr., \$1.55.

The present recent addition to the *Biblische Studies*—a series of studies edited by Professor Bardenhewer, of Munich, with the co-operation of a corps of Scripture professors from the leading Catholic faculties of Germany; a series which, now in its fourteenth volume, contains many scholarly essays on Biblical topics—embodies the results of the author's research into the origin of human sacrifice as it existed among the ancient Hebrews and the neighboring nations; and the relation of the inhuman form of cult to the Monotheistic worship which characterized the children of Israel. The strongest evidence for its existence among the Egyptians leads Professor Mader to the opinion that the Hebrews borrowed it originally from the Nile Valley. Though the evidence for its practice among the Eastern neighbors on the Tigris is not so abundant, yet it is enough to justify the assertion that the prevalence there of the Moloch cult most probably revived the practice among the Hebrews.

But, however human sacrifice may have found its way into Jewry, Professor Mader adduces abundant testimony from the Law and the Prophets to prove that the practice was utterly abhorrent to the orthodox worship of Jehovah, and was detested as distinctively heathen idolatry, which, notwithstanding the vigilance of the prophets, stole into the Jewish people. As a consequence to regard with Renan, Hebrew Monotheism as simply the outcome of a natural evolutionary process in the Semitic race Dr. Mader shows to be a misreading of the historic facts. The pure worship of Jehovah as formulated in the Pentateuch and the prophetic writings rises *toto coelo* beyond the sensuous and gruesome idolatry prevailing among the neighboring heathen nations. The pure sprang not from the impure. The evidence

for this is fully supplied in the book at hand. While primarily a Biblical study, it has a distinctively apologetical value as a contribution to the science of religion, as a historical demonstration of the transcendency of the Hebrew Monotheism and a corroboration of the fact that that worship can only be adequately explained by tracing it to a divine revelation and a providential preservation.

ALBRECHT DÜRER, Sein Leben, Schaffen und Glauben geschildert von Dr. G. A. Weber, Professor am Kgl. Leyzeum Regensburg 3e Auflage. Fr. Pustet, Regensburg (New York).

The rank of Albrecht Dürer in the world of painting and engraving is, of course, undisputed. His works in these two departments of art are, as regards both their conception and their execution, amongst the very highest productions of human genius—his “Adoration of the Trinity” taking rank with Raphael’s “Disputa” and Angelo’s “Sistine” paintings as world-pictures. But whilst all this is generally admitted, the question of his religious convictions is still controverted. To many it seems of little or no importance whether Dürer embraced the “New Gospel” (he was born in 1471 and died in 1528) or adhered faithfully to the Old Church—his art work would still be what it is. On the other hand, if that work is the expression of the real soul of the artist, it makes much for its true interpretation to know the attitude—the faith—of that soul towards religious truth, which his work so largely expresses. The value of Professor Weber’s present monograph consists primarily in the mass of evidence he has brought together and judiciously weighed concerning the much debated subject. No one who studies Dürer’s masterpieces can escape the persuasion, if not the conviction, that they are the product of Catholic faith and ideals. Nevertheless, there are not wanting indications that Dürer, like many others, even amongst the learned of his time, became a follower of Luther. Professor Weber sifts the arguments pro and con, and whilst he finds that the balance falls in favor of the contention that Dürer lived and died in the Catholic faith, he reaches this verdict by no weakening of the arguments *pro altera parte*. The debate is carried on with befitting impartiality. Though about half the book is devoted to this controversy, the other half gives a most interesting and attractively written story of the great artist’s life and an adequate appreciation of his works. A goodly number of well executed engravings adds not a little to the value of the book. It receives a merited place in the bibliography of the article Dürer in the fifth volume of the Catholic Encyclopedia.

LA DOCTRINE DE L'ISLAM. Par le Baron Carra de Vaux. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie, 117 rue de Rennes.

The present work is an addition to the many writings of the author on the same subject, which is one of evidently great interest to him. He professes to write the book now given to the public in answer to the desire of many readers, who seemed to call for a description of the so-called orthodox Mussulman religion, which would be at once complete without being too minute, taken from a philosophical point of view, accompanied by some comparisons with other religions, and comprising some view of the evolution of Islamism.

In regard to the philosophical treatment of the subject, the author remarks that orthodox Islamism is not a philosophical and rational form of religion, but rather an intuitive and simple one—one that calls for simple and unreasoning faith on the part of its votaries. In the Mussulman world philosophy does not claim relationship with orthodoxy; it belongs to the schools and the sects; the orthodox teachers invoke its aid only in so far as it may be serviceable in combating heresy.

As to the evolution of Islamism, the task has given more concern and anxiety to the author. His great difficulty lies in the fact that the greatest change in this religion is the one which is actually going on at the present moment. It is changing day by day under our very eyes. In the effort to explain this evolution the writer has grouped together certain facts such as were suited to delineate the character of this great movement.

In the whole work he aims at an exposition of what is most essential and most known on the subject in hand. This may be readily seen by glancing at the titles of the ten chapters comprised in the book: 1. "Divine Unity and Rites of Prayer." 2. "Future Life." 3. "Fatalism." 4. "Alms: Mussulman Legends on Jesus and Mary." 5. "Pilgrimage." 6. "Precept of Holy War." 7. "Situation of the Woman." 8. "The Child and Education." 9. "Mysticism." 10. "Future of Islamism."

WANDERINGS IN THE ROMAN CAMPAGNA. By *Rodolfo Lanciani*, author of "Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries," "Pagan and Christian Rome," "New Tales of Old Rome," etc. 8vo., pp. 378, profusely illustrated. \$5.00, net. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company.

It is seldom that beauty and utility are so closely united as in this book. It is a sumptuous volume and at the same time an informing one.

Professor Lanciani's reputation as an archaeologist is world-wide, and everything from his pen is eagerly accepted because of its historical value. But matter of this kind is too apt to be

dry and unattractive, except to those who love knowledge for its own sake. But Professor Lanciani is an exception to this rule. There is a freshness and charm and attractiveness about his books that makes them interesting to the student as well as to the scholar. This newest book emphasizes this statement and perpetuates his reputation, which was already secure.

The publishers' announcement says: "Professor Lanciani's new book, coming in sequence to his brilliant and popular works upon 'Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries,' 'Pagan and Christian Rome' and 'The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome,' is one of the most interesting of the series. The Roman Campagna, with its natural beauty and picturesqueness, its rich historic association and its notable ruins of Roman days, affords him an uncommonly fruitful field for a notable work. The book contains the first authoritative account of many important discoveries, but it is so filled with personal experience enlivened by interesting anecdotes that it is delightful reading. The introductory chapter is on The Land of Saturn, and then follow chapters on The Kingdom of Alba, Tusculum and Frascati, The Kingdom of Turnus, The Coast of the Volscians, The Pelasgic Cities, The Fines Tiburtium, The Borderland of Etruria, and the Harbor of Rome. There are many original illustrations and a map."

THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA AND THE HANOVERIAN SUCCESSION. By *Adolphus William Ward, Litt. D., Hon. LL. D., F. B. A.*, Master of Peterhouse. Second edition, revised and enlarged. 12mo., pp. xxi.+575. Longmans, Green & Co., 39 Paternoster Row, London; New York, Bombay and Calcutta. 1909.

"The long and eventful life of the Electress Sophia admits of being treated from various points of view, each of which possesses an interest of its own. A Stewart by descent and breeding, and naturally enough in a large measure by sentiment also, she likewise, by reason of her birth and through the traditions and experiences of her youth, had an immediate part in the declining fortunes of the Palatine House. The title acquired by her, for herself and her descendants, to the succession to the throne of her maternal ancestors, was a Parliamentary title; but it rested ultimately on the relation of herself and the House of Brunswick-Luneburg to the political and religious conflicts—the struggle against France and the resistance to Rome—on whose issue the future of Europe, and that of England in particular, mainly depended. Personally, thanks to the unflagging vivacity and unfailing candor of her mind, fostered by an education carried on by

her through life, she became one of the foremost feminine representatives of the intellectual liberalism of her age."

This quotation, from the Preface to the second edition, will give some idea of the subject and the point of view of the author. The book has stood a five years' test, the first edition having appeared in 1903, and the author is well known in the field of history, having been engaged in it for many years, and having produced much of real merit.

PRAGMATISME, MODERNISME, PROTESTANTISME, par A. Leclère, professeur à l'Université de Berne. One vol. in 16. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

In this book M. Leclere makes a special study of the antecedents of modernism, its authors and principal representatives. In accomplishing his task he allows neither reserve nor timidity to hinder the full exercise of his freedom of mind in dealing with the various personages referred to, Olle-Laprune, Deschamps, Newman, Blondel, Laberthonniere, Le Roy, Tyrrel and Loisy. He insists on the difference between sound philosophy and modernism. To the latter he gives the name of a religious pragmatism, nearly allied to the Anglo-American pragmatism. He does not fail, however, to point out the relations of modernism with the philosophical systems of Kant, Guyan, Serretan, Ravaisson, Renouvier and Bergson. He shows that only secondary causes of the prevailing pragmatism of to-day can be found in the psychology of tendance, in the actual sociology, in the new directions taken by science and in the philosophy of M. Boutroux. Its true cause, he maintains, is the philosophical and religious doubt, the crisis being undergone by Belief, the want of idealism. He defines liberal protestantism as a kind of protestant modernism, and considers it as being, especially since 1850, a foreshadowing of Catholic modernism, which, if it be logical, must eventually join hands with its precursor. A long appendix contains a searching discussion of several opinions expressed in the course of the work, and furnishes additional information on different points of history, particularly on Jewish and Mahometan modernism. The study of this volume may be equally recommended to the partisans of both sides in the controversy.

DER TABERNAKEL EINST UND JETZT. Eine historische und liturgische Darstellung der Andacht zur Aufbewahrenen Eucharistie. Von Felix Raible. Aus dem Nachlasz des Verfassers herausgegeben von Dr. E. Krebs. Herder, Freiburg (I. B.), St. Louis, Mo., 1908. Pr., \$2.25.

The author of this monograph on the history of the Eucharistic

Tabernacle, after suffering persecution, fire and imprisonment for the faith in the German Kulturkampf, spent the latter years of his life (1889-1907) as pastor of the village of Glatt, in the Black Forest. Having occasion to remodel his humble church, he made a thorough study of the altar, the tabernacle especially, and the manner of preserving the Blessed Sacrament as it has developed throughout the history of the Church. A priest in whom "piety and doctrine" merged and perfected one the other, his love for the Dweller in the Eucharistic Tabernacle inspired him to search out every detail connected with the history of the sacred abode, to study every prescription and device which the wisdom of the Church has invented to build and furnish an abode as fitting as may be for her Emmanuel. The author died before publishing the result of his devoted labor, leaving it, however, complete in the hands of his fellow-priest, Dr. Krebs, who has edited it and prefixed a biographical sketch of the learned and pious author. Beginning with an exposition of the Eucharistic faith and worship in the early Church, the book tells the story of how the Blessed Sacrament was reserved in the ancient days, in catacomb, private home, on journeys. Then throughout the Middle Ages and modern times, when all the inventions and devices of religious art have been pressed into the service of the altar. The narrative skillfully combines manifold details of architectural development with their deep doctrinal and mystical significance. The work, while instructive, is no less edifying. Of theoretical and devotional interest to the intelligent reader, it will have great practical value for the architect and the priest as suggesting what is best and most beautiful in the designing and adorning of the tabernacle.

INSTITUTIONES METAPHYSICAE SPECIALIS QUAS TRADEBAT IN COLLEGIO
MAXIMO. *Lovanensi P. Stanislaus de Backer, S. J.* Tom. IV., Theologia
Naturalis. Paris: Beauchesne, 1908.

With the present volume Father de Backer completes his institutes of special metaphysics, the first installment of which—dealing with *Cosmology*—appeared some ten years ago. These were followed at intervals by two other sections devoted to psychology. The features of *solidity*, *clarity* and *timeliness* which were signalized in this REVIEW as standing out prominently in the preceding portions of the work are *mutatis mutandis* no less notable in the volume at hand. We make the reservation just italicized because the subject matter of Theodicy obviously does not call for the note of *timeliness* in the manner and degree demanded by cosmological and psychological questions—subjects on which recent science has had much to say that philosophy must duly consider. On the other hand, the

notes of *solidity* and breadth of demonstration and *clarity* of exposition are if anything more essential to a work on so vital a subject as the existence of God and His relations to the universe. It need hardly be said that in these respects the present work can hardly be surpassed. The opening chapter contains a thorough exposition of the principle of causality—on which, of course, the arguments for the existence of the First Cause depends. These arguments are subsequently solidly established, though the fifty pages devoted to them are by no means too many. The author has shown his sense of the fitting by holding to a simple scholastic style which rightly eschews rhetorical phrasings and thus allows the thought to shine through unclouded.

DIE BRIEFE DES APOSTETS PAULIS AN TIMOTHEUS UND TITUS. Pp. viii.+302. Pr., \$1.90.

DER EPHESERBRIEF DES APOSTETS PAULUS. Pp. vii.+209. Übersetzt und Erklärt von Dr. Johannes Belser. Pr., \$1.50. Herder, Freiburg (i. B.), St. Louis, Mo., 1908.

There has not been in recent times an excessive multiplication of Catholic commentaries on the Pauline Epistles. Thus the author whose recent works are here introduced cites but two on the Pastoral Letters—Mack (1836) and Bisping (1866)—and the same number on the Epistle to the Ephesians—Bisping (1855) and Henle (1890). All these are in German. Over against these figures might be mentioned about a dozen in the former and about eight in the latter case by Protestant authors. The relative paucity in Catholic exegesis is principally due to the wealth of already preëxisting—Patristic and subsequent commentaries—notably the monumental work of Cornelius A. Lapide, which, though written almost three centuries ago, is, as Professor Belser observes, still in many respects unsurpassed, though indeed it is seldom, if ever, noticed by Protestant commentators. The learned professor of Divinity at Tübingen has done a distinct service for Catholic students by bringing together in compact and convenient form the wisdom of the older commentators and combining therewith what elements of newer knowledge textual and exegetical criticism and historical research have brought to bear on these letters of the inspired Apostle. This service will be mostly appreciated by those who have pondered over the deeply mystical and hence obscure thoughts which abound particularly in the Epistle to the Ephesians; whereof long ago St. Jerome declared, "*Nullam Epistolam Pauli tanta habere mysteria, tam reconditis sensibus involuta.*" That the latest translator and interpreter makes perfectly plain what the early author of the Vulgate found so difficult, one must hesitate to affirm. That, however, with the accumulated thought of many ages at his command, Dr. Belser has been able to

shed not a little light on the obscurities may be safely attested. Certainly Biblical students will profit by consulting these volumes.

ERASME ET LUTHER: Polémique sur le libre arbitre, par *M. Claude-Humbert*. One vol. in 16. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

Owing to the vast number of works published on the subject of the Reformation, it would seem that all or at least nearly all has been said or written on Luther and the beginning of the Reformation. One fundamental question, however, has hitherto escaped general notice, probably for the reason that its treatment and solution requires the services not only of a historian, but of a theologian also. The polemic discussion held by Erasmus and Luther on free-will and the other questions connected with free-will places us at once in the very heart and centre of the doctrinal element of Lutheranism. On this point the theological activity of Protestants and Catholics was destined to concentrate their respective forces for nearly two centuries. In order to account for the history of dogmatic theology down to the decline of Jansenism, and to understand the direction or development it received during that period, the student must have a precise knowledge of the antithetical positions established at the very beginning of that new era of modern theology by Erasmus and Luther. This point of departure is admirably presented to the reader in the volume of M. Humbert Claude, which is a profound study containing vast treasures of information for the theologian and adorned with those embellishments of style and clearness of treatment which cannot fail to win his sincere approbation.

HISTOIRE DE L'EGLISE DU III^e AU XI^e SIECLE. LE CHRISTIANISME ET L'EMPIRE, par *Albert Dufoucq*, professeur à l'Université de Bordeaux. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

In this publication the learned author continues the series of his valuable works on the Christian past. The period treated of in this book cannot fail to interest deeply the student of Church history. The destinies of Christianity and those of the Roman Empire possess throughout these centuries a solidarity which began to disappear soon after the close of the eleventh century. The renaissance in the East and the awakening of the West forced the Empire to retreat from its prominent position, caused it to break up gradually, and finally transformed it. The Church seemed destined to share in its ruin, but it wisely

separated its lot from that of the Empire, evacuated the East and took deeper root in the West. Such is the momentous history which M. Dufourcq presents with a striking loftiness of view and a thorough minuteness of scholarship. Side by side with this picture of political events, the author has placed a masterly exposition of the development of Christian thought during this period. Origen, St. Athanasius and St. Augustin are the master-minds on whose doctrines he dwells most extensively and with the utmost ease. This distinguished work will assuredly be welcomed both by theologians and by historians.

RELIGIOSI JURIS CAPITA SELECTA ADUMBRAVIT. *Raphael Molitor, O. S. B.*
Typis, Fr. Pustet.

This new work is most elaborate and is the result of deep and wide research. It comprises 560 pages and contains seven chapters. The first three of these treat of the religious profession and the religious state. The fourth chapter has for title "*De Verborum Significatione*," and explains the meaning of the different terms employed to designate religious societies, *v. g.*, the terms *Religio*, *Ordo*, *Congregatio Religiosa*, etc. The fifth chapter, "*Qualis sit Religionum Potestas Regiminis*," treats of the nature of the power exercised in the government of religious orders exempted from episcopal jurisdiction. The sixth chapter, "*De Variis Religiosorum Familiis*," shows the various sources whence arises the distinction of religious orders, *v. g.*, their end, the kind of life they profess, the nature of vows taken, etc. The concluding chapter, seventh, "*De Abbatia Regulari*," treats at great length of the power and prerogatives of the abbatial authority.

The author avows his intention of selecting for treatment such matters as are in no way treated or only lightly touched upon by modern writers, although these matters are of the greatest importance. Amongst them he dwells particularly upon the question of the elements of the religious profession, the various constitutions of the religious orders, the different families of religious. He insists strongly upon the necessity of having distinct names and terms for distinct things. He devotes one whole chapter to the subject of the signification of terms. The work is a most useful and invaluable contribution to this important branch of ecclesiastical science.

LES ARGUMENTS DE L'ATHEISME, par I. de la Paquiere. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

M. de la Paquiere has already supplied us with a valuable work of Christian Apologetics, entitled *elements d'apologetique*,

which, under a complete view of the subject, vindicates the truth and correctness of positive doctrine. The entire Catholic press has bestowed the highest eulogies on the work, in which all find proof the most abundant of the clearness, the originality, and the scholarship of the distinguished writer. Mgr. Mignot, Archbishop of Albi, addressed the following lines to the author, which may be found at the beginning of the second edition: "You have at last given the fruit of 50 years of study and meditation. I am highly pleased with it. You have not, of course, said everything; but that was not possible; but what you have said was uncommonly well chosen. You meet the pressing needs of our contemporaries by expounding the truths and facts which are confirmed by common sense, by the lights of correct reason, and by the most certain conclusions of history and erudition."

In the present volume the author directs his efforts more particularly towards the refutation of our adversaries. With much moderation and praiseworthy tolerance he points out that the doctrines of M. M. Uebert and Le Dantee are the outcome of the system of Kant and of the agnosticism of Spencer. In a clear and concise form he offers us the just estimate of these recent doctrines and of the arguments advanced for their support.

BISHOP DE MAZENOD. *His Inner Life and Virtues.* By *Very Rev. Fr. Eugene Baffie, O. M. I.* 12mo., 458 pages, with portraits. Cloth, net, \$1.80. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Bishop De Mazenod was the saintly Founder and Superior-General of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. Father Baffie's book is much esteemed by the clergy and Religious in France, and is used for spiritual reading in seminaries. Years pass so rapidly that it seems but a little while since his Eminence Cardinal Perraud, of beloved memory, selected Father Baffie's book to be read aloud in the refectory, during a pastoral retreat at Autun, in which he himself took part. His Eminence later on wrote to the reverend author as follows: "You have done a very great service to your own religious family, and to ecclesiastics in general. The members of your congregation will find in your book a rich inheritance, a treasure-house of instruction and example. The bishops and priests who will have the advantage of reading the work will admire therein an attractive pattern of all the priestly virtues and they will perceive that these virtues are not beyond our strength, since they were practiced in such a high degree during his long life by the venerable Bishop and

Religious whose inmost soul you picture so pleasingly and so well."

PETITE HISTOIRE DE L'EGLISE CATHOLIQUE AU XIX. SIECLE, par *Pierre Lorette*. One vol. in 16. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

At the present time, when religious questions are so keenly discussed, it is all-important to have an exact knowledge of the history of the Church. Thence the timeliness of the little volume published by M. Pierre Lorette. It affords the reader the means of making a precise, though rapid, study of a period in the history of the Church, which was undoubtedly one of the most stormy ever known, and, at the same time, one that gave very strong evidence of life and vigor. All the problems that arose in the course of the past century are clearly exposed to view. The reader can realize the importance and necessity of being familiar with these problems, if he wishes at all to be able to act upon his contemporaries, or to influence their life and opinions. The volume presents a clearness of narrative, a neatness of plan, a correctness of division, an abundance and preciseness of references, which render the use of the book both pleasant and convenient, even for such as are already well versed in the subject. The writer has combined strict orthodoxy with the most rigorous and scientific information, a generous degree of moderation, and a lively appreciation of the needs of the hour.

ROUND THE WORLD. A Series of Interesting Illustrated Articles on a Great Variety of Subjects. Vol. VII. 12mo., pp. 223, with 100 illustrations. New York: Benziger Brothers.

We predicted success for this series, and called attention to the very wide field on which it could draw for succeeding volumes. The appearance of the seventh shows that our prediction is being verified and the field being worked. This number of the series does not fall behind any of its predecessors in interest and instructiveness. It is made up of twelve articles on interesting subjects, well and profusely illustrated.

The first article, on "Trees, Historical, Wonderful and Ordinary," catches the attention at once and holds it. Not, however, to the exclusion of the articles on "Mountain Climbing in America," "Canoes and Canoeing," "Outdoor Bird Taming" and the eight others, for we find when we begin to enumerate that they are all interesting and instructive and worthy of mention.

The series would make an acceptable addition to the family library, for young people, and old ones, too, would always find

something interesting in it. School children will find them useful aids in writing compositions, and they would furnish excellent reading books.

PETAN (1583-1652), par Abbé Jules Martin. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

This author has published remarkable studies on Philo, St. Augustin, etc. He now offers a sure and enlightened guide to lead the student through the vast field covered by the works of the great theologian Petavius. The perusal of this little book will enable the reader to appreciate the service it can give to seminarians, or lay apologists, who desire to learn in what manner the most celebrated theologians of the world have propounded the eternal problems of the existence of God, the Trinity, the Incarnation, grace, creation, the Sacraments, the hierarchy. All these subjects are arranged in perfect order, so that in dealing with each of them, the student is enabled at once to put his hand on the most decisive texts of Petavius.

Even specialists will find help in this small volume, since it follows strictly scientific methods in its treatment of all matters, and moreover offers many new points of view. The name of Abbe Martin is a guarantee of the thorough genuineness, which is sought for in a work of first hand, as well as of the unassailable orthodoxy of the matter and the scientific correctness of the form.

L'EXISTENCE HISTORIQUE DE JESUS ET LE RATIONALISME CONTEMPORAIN.
Par L. Cl. Fillion. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

The impious and absurd theory which pretends that Jesus was nothing else but a mythical or legendary being finds little or no favor nowadays, as it did, to some degree, some sixty years ago. However, the sheerest absurdities are accorded the honor of being entertained and championed by some adherents. Lately a Protestant pastor published a series of pamphlets, in which he attempted to resuscitate this foolish as well as unholy system, so utterly opposed to science as well as to religion. Other writings have followed in the same strain. It is not useless, therefore, to examine on what foundation this theory pretends to rest and by what proofs it undertakes to demonstrate that Jesus never existed. Such is the problem treated by M. Fillion. Under his masterly exposition of the facts of early Christianity the reader is obliged to arrive at the necessary conclusion that behind all these facts there is a historical personage, there is the existence of Jesus, the founder of the Christian Church.

The contrary thesis not only is without foundation, but is, in the eyes of true science, a monstrosity of the grossest type.

LA VIE ET LA LEGENDE DE SAINT GWENNOLE, publiée par *Pierre Allier*.
Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

The saints of Brittany have occupied a prominent place in the early history of that interesting country. Emigrating from Great Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries, they guided the tribes who fled from before the Anglo-Saxon invaders, in the work of evangelizing the natives, as also that of reclaiming the forest lands and founding cities. One of the most illustrious of all these anchorites was Gwennoelé, friend of King Gradlon and of Coventin, first Bishop of Kemper. An abbot of Landévennec named Wadislén wrote in the ninth century the life of "this holy and eminent father of monks." This naïve panegyric affords a striking picture of the lively enthusiasm of the disciple on behalf of his spiritual father. Its precious text serves as a basis for the delightful narrative of M. Pierre Allier. To complete his portrait of this most popular of all the Breton saints, the author draws also from other sources. All readers who are interested in the lives of the saints will find genuine delight in this graceful little volume.

MISSALE ROMANUM. 48mo. Sumptibus et Typis Frederici Pustet, Neo Eboraci, 1909.

This is a very remarkable specimen of book making. A few years ago no one would have believed that a complete Missal could be reduced to such small proportions. Even now, when one sees the book first, before opening it, he will be tempted to doubt that it is a complete Missal. And yet it is true.

In this small volume, which looks like a small pocket prayer book, we have the best of all prayer books, the Roman Missal.

It is beautifully made: splendid type, paper, illustrations and binding. Altogether a most attractive and useful book.

MORALE SCIENTIFIQUE ET MORALE EVANGELIQUE DEVANT LA SOCIOLOGIE, par le docteur *Grasset*, professeur de clinique médicale à l'Université de Montpellier. One vol. in 16. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

Doctor Grasset is one of those writers, whose works are their own recommendation. His far-famed and wide practice, as a physician, and his rare power of thought and judgment have secured to him such a position in the scientific and philosophic world as to render all praise superfluous.

In this book, as well as in all his other works, we may see how

the most genuine and certain science can exist in the sane mind side by side with the fullness and serenity of an unshaken and firm faith.

DREI DEUTSCHE MINORITEN PREDIGER AUS DEM XIII. UND XIV. JAHRHUNDERT. Von *Adolph Franz*. Herder, Freiburg (St. Louis, Mo.), 1907.

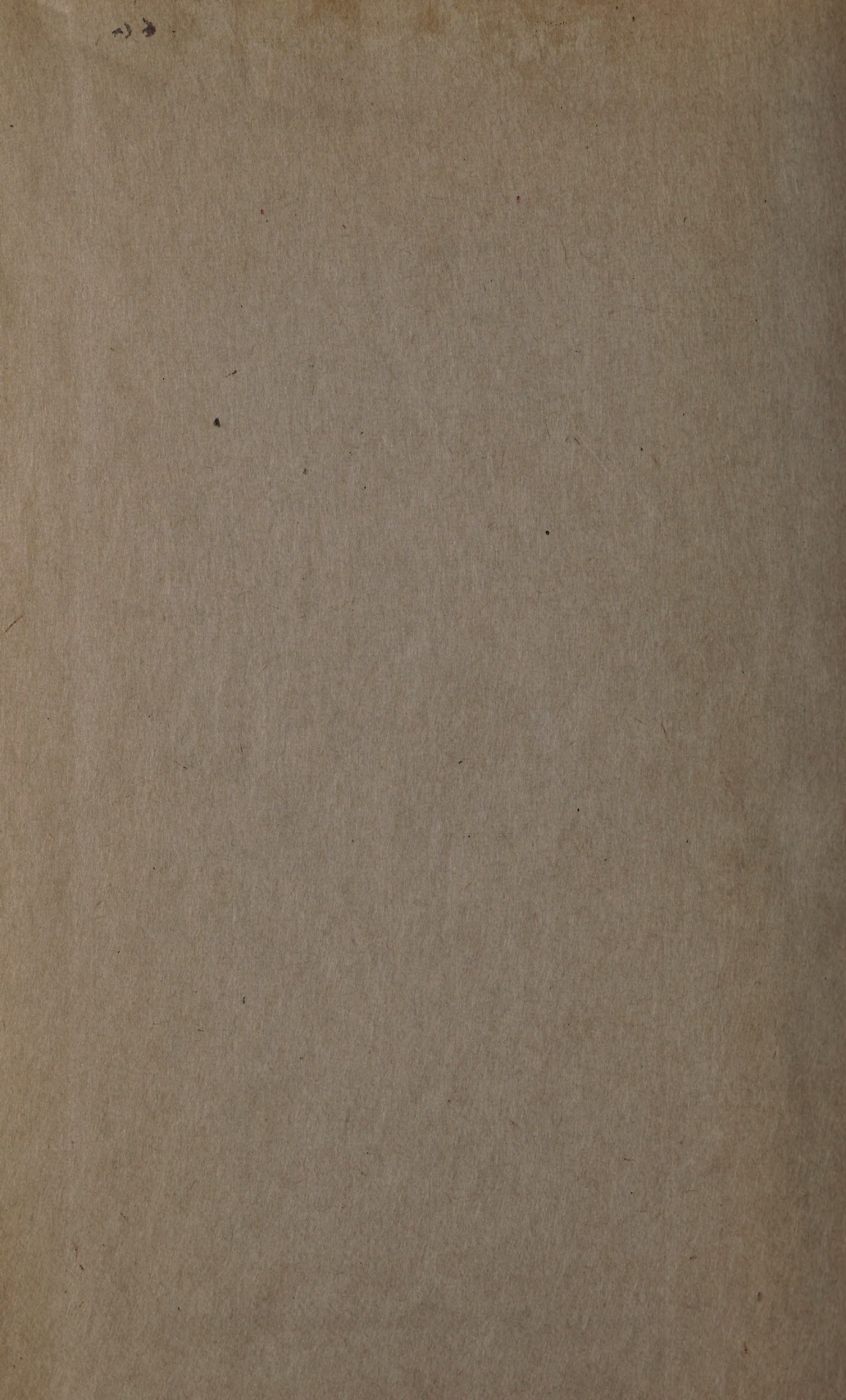
One who takes up this book is likely to want to read it through. It puts before him portraits of three to him probably unknown Minorite preachers who lived in Germany some six or seven centuries ago, and who reflect in their thought and style much of the quaintness, simplicity and sturdy straightforwardness of their time—Conrad of Saxony, Brother Ludovicus (Louis) and one who bore the pseudonym *Greculus*. Little is known of the lives of these religious, but their manuscript sermons are preserved in various German libraries. From these manuscripts Dr. Franz has drawn his materials—which consist mostly of extracts characteristic of sermons and the times, with comments by the editor on the occasions that drew forth the original. Much light is thus thrown not only on their typical style of preaching, but also on the prevailing deeds and customs—evils especially against which the preachers inveighed. The work is well documented and evinces great painstaking research. The interest, however, of the narrative is not overwhelmed by a parade of superfluous erudition.

LE MODERNISME. Sa position vis-à-vis de la science—Sa condamnation par le Pape Pie X. Par *S. E. le Cardinal Mercier*, Archevêque de Malines. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

This opusculum of the eminent prelate and scientist is at once an exposition and a refutation of modernism. Realizing that souls have to be saved, the writer does not remain in the domain of simple theory. He shows what Christians ought practically to do nowadays to safeguard their faith by enlightening it. The importance of this publication, the name and renown of its author and the grave questions treated are such as to demand a close study of this book from all readers.

I. BARBEY D'AUREVILLY. *L'internelle Consolation—Sainte Thérèse—Pascal—Bossuet—Saint Benoît Labre—Le Curé d'Ars*. One vol. in 12. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

This excellent work of Barbey d'Aureville has been the object of an unmerited forgetfulness and neglect on the part of students and scholars. Being the religious portion of his writings, it is richly instructive and worthy of attention and study. It well deserves to find a place amongst the masterpieces of religious literature.



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